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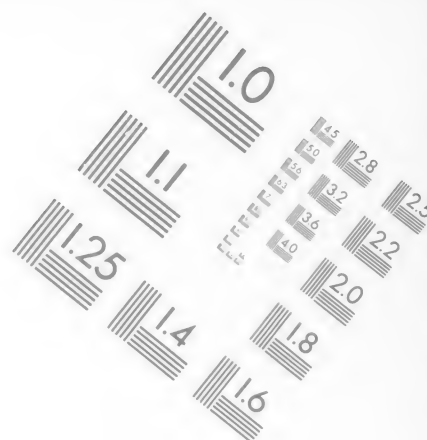
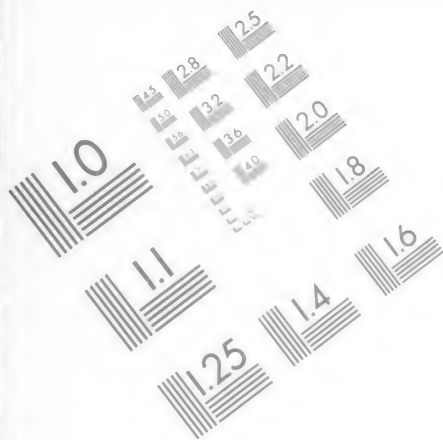


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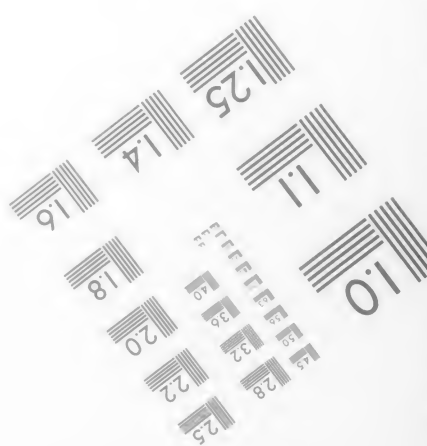
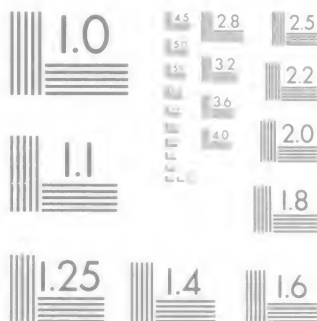
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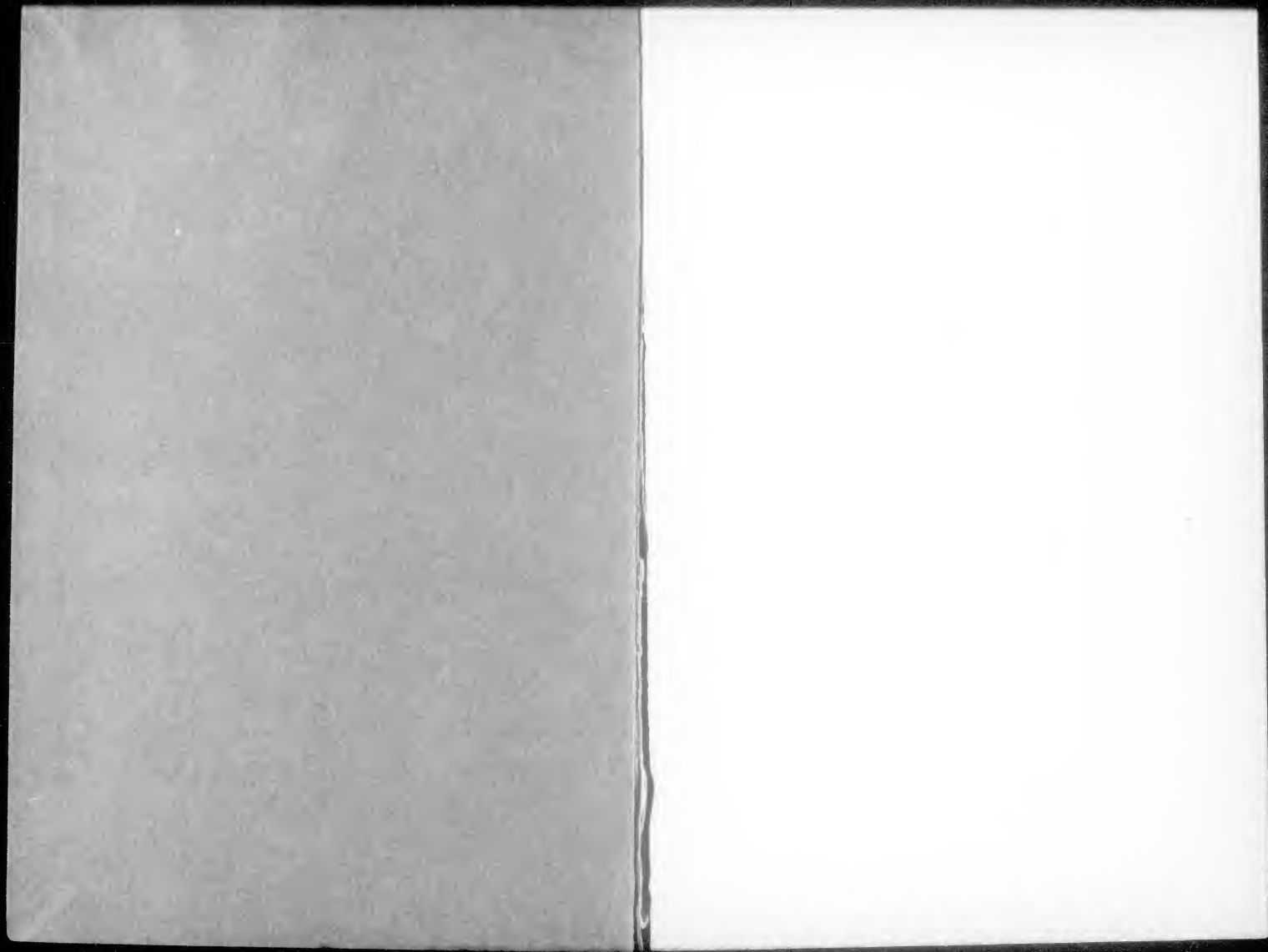


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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF BACON'S
CHIEF WORKS.

First Edition of *Essays* (10) ; published 1597.

Advancement of Learning, Book I., 1603 ; published 1605.

Advancement of Learning, Book II., 1605 ; published 1605.

Second Edition of *Essays* (38), 1607-1612 ; published 1612.

New Atlantis, 1614-1617 ; published 1627.

Novum Organum, 1608-1620 ; published 1620.

History of Henry VII., 1621-1622 ; published 1622.

De Augmentis Scientiarum, 1622-1623 ; published 1623.

Third Edition of *Essays* (58), 1612-1624 ; published 1625.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. **Life of Bacon.**—FRANCIS BACON was born on 22nd January, 1561, at York House, in the Strand, London. His father was Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal under Queen Elizabeth, and his mother was Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook.

As a youth he was precociously solemn, and Queen Elizabeth called him "The Young Lord Keeper." It is related that being asked on one occasion by the queen how old he was, he answered, "Two years younger than your Majesty's happy reign." He was sent in April 1573 to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he remained till Christmas 1575, being then on the point of sixteen. At the university he took a dislike to the philosophy of Aristotle, "not for the worthlessness of the author," as he said, "but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a philosophy only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the productions of works for the benefit of the life of man." This opinion he never altered and it determined his later philosophical position.

After being admitted to the Society of Gray's Inn in June 1576 he was sent in September to France "to mould him to the arts of state." There he remained till his father's death in 1579, when he returned to England and commenced his regular career as a student of law. He became "utter barrister" in 1582, benchers in 1586, reader in 1588, and double reader in 1600.

He entered Parliament in 1584 and sat in every Parliament up to the time of his fall. Of his eloquence his friend Ben Jonson bears testimony: "No man ever spake more neatly, more pressedly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness in what he uttered. No

member of his speech but consisted of its own graces. His hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss. He commanded where he spoke; and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was that he should make an end."

In 1606 Bacon married Alice Barnham, an alderman's daughter, who brought him a moderate fortune. His marriage was celebrated with great pomp. A contemporary account says that Bacon "was clad from top to toe in purple, and hath made himself and his wife such store of fine raiments of cloth of silver and gold that it draws deep into her portion," an indication of the love of magnificence which characterised his domestic life. According to Dr. Rawley, Bacon's chaplain and first biographer, his married life was one of "much conjugal love and respect," but the munificent provision which Bacon in his will made for his wife he revoked by a codicil "for just and grave causes," the nature of which was not specified.

Bacon's political career belongs to history rather than to literature. Under Elizabeth he obtained no advancement, owing partly to the opposition of his own relatives, the Cecils, and partly to the fact that he had offended the Queen in Parliament by vigorously opposing a demand for a large subsidy. Even the influence of the Earl of Essex at a time when that ill-fated nobleman was in high favour with Elizabeth was insufficient to obtain for Bacon the promotion which he desired; nor could his subsequent conduct towards his munificent friend and patron, conduct which has stamped his name with undying infamy, and his general subservience to the Court win for him the good graces of the Queen.

When James I. came to the throne Bacon's prospects improved, and his advancement was fairly rapid. In 1607 he became Solicitor-General, and in 1613 Attorney-General; he was made Lord Chancellor in 1617, and in 1618 was raised to the peerage as Baron Verulam. This reads like success, but his life was a long succession of hopes deferred, of whining appeals for office and a cringing after favours which came too late to be enjoyed. Finally fate raised him,

like so many others of his time, to high place only to make his disgrace the deeper.

The story of his fall has often been told, but his own comments on the subject have never been bettered. He preached a higher morality than he practised: it was not ignorance but weakness of will that caused his undoing. In 1612 in his *Essay on Great Place* he wrote: "Do not only bind thine own hands and thy servants' from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering. And avoid not only the fault but the suspicion of corruption." In the *New Atlantis* he remarks that for a public servant to receive a present was to be "twice paid." Nevertheless he was not too careful in accepting presents from litigants when their case was still in process; he even borrowed money from suitors and was culpably negligent in allowing his servants to take presents. During his Chancellorship, 1617-1621, he had also received and acted upon letters from Buckingham asking him to favour certain suitors. These would not have been sent to a man above suspicion, "a man of courage, fearing God and hating covetousness," as he maintained a judge should be.

He excused himself by saying that these things were *vitia temporis* and not *vitia hominis*, but we like to think of Bacon as something more than a man of his times, as rather a man of all time.

To the charges against him Bacon made no legal defence, and on May 3rd, 1621, the famous judgment was passed:—This High Court doth adjudge:

(1) That the Lord Viscount St. Albans, Lord Chancellor of England, shall undergo fine and ransom of forty thousand pounds.

(2) That he shall be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure.

(3) That he shall be for ever incapable of an office, place or employment in the State or Commonwealth.

(4) That he shall never sit in Parliament, nor come within the verge of the Court.

After a few days' imprisonment in the Tower he was released and his fine was also remitted. His exclusion from the Court was later revoked and the only part of the

sentence which remained in force was the prohibition from attending Parliament. This he tried in vain to have cancelled.

He admitted the justice of his sentence and said that he would rather be a briber than a defender of bribes. "I was," he says, "the justest judge that was in England these fifty years. But it was the justest censure in Parliament that was these two hundred years." He likewise recognised that his punishment was in the interests of justice and took "no small comfort in the thought that, hereafter, the greatness of a judge or magistrate shall be no sanctuary of guiltiness, which in few words is the beginning of a golden world."

In his retirement he never gave up hope of re-entering public life. He was "impatient of privateness, even in age and sickness": as a moth to the light he sought to return to the source of his suffering, but his appeals for office were always ignored.

His retirement nevertheless enabled him to make his literary reputation more secure. Like Sir Walter Scott in somewhat similar circumstances he devoted himself with amazing energy to literature and science, and during this period produced his *Histories*, the *De Augmentis*, the *New Atlantis*, and the *Third Edition of the Essays*. The *Advancement of Learning*, the *Novum Organum*, and the *First and Second Edition of the Essays* belong to the previous period.

An experiment which was an anticipation of the modern process of refrigeration caused his death. Travelling to Highgate one April day he stopped on the way, purchased a hen, killed and with his own hands stuffed it with snow to test the power of cold to arrest putrefaction. As a result he caught a chill and was taken to the house of the Earl of Arundel, where on April 9th, 1626, he died of bronchitis.

§ 2. *Bacon's Philosophy.*—With all his failings, Bacon was the herald of a new age. When others were looking back with regret to the past, trying to catch the last lingering rays of the setting sun of knowledge, he was proclaiming

the coming of a new and still more glorious dawn. Man's heaven was no longer to be sought in the past, but in the future. To apply Plato's analogy, of which Bacon made so much use, he turned the eyes of the intellectual cave-dwellers to the light.

By his criticism he made the systems of the past untenable—"Let the dead bury their dead" was the burden of his plaint—and by giving expression to the thoughts which were vaguely stirring the human heart he did more than any other to secure the success of the new movement in knowledge. But his reach greatly exceeded his grasp: his philosophical works were great introductions rather than completed systems. His zeal as a reformer and prophet even blinded him to many of the actual advances in science of his day. He pointed out the path rather than travelled it himself: "he moved the intellects that moved the world." As he said: "I have only taken upon me to ring a bell to call other wits together," or, to borrow another of his musical metaphors—"so have I been content to tune the instruments of the muses that they may play that have better hands."

Bacon's first task was to overthrow the philosophy which then prevailed, and which is known by the name of scholasticism. According to this system of philosophy which prevailed from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, truth was supposed to be already attained and fully set forth in the Scriptures and in the decrees of the Church councils. Scholasticism accepted such theological truths and sought by means of deductive logic to reconcile and systematise them and give them scientific form. It aimed at the complete reduction of religious thought to logical form.

It did not, however, regard knowledge as a progressive fact, nor did it seek new truth by return to experience. The hand of authority was heavy upon the age, and so the assumptions on which the system of scholasticism was based remained unquestioned. Its argumentation was consequently always in a circle and its discussions possessed no reality. Bacon complained that it merely brought forth "cobwebs of learning, admirable for their fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit."

It was Bacon's object to bring thought anew into fruitful relation with concrete experience. To attain this end was no easy task: the judgment of Time, a specious form of the lazy fallacy, was the final word in all arguments, and this Bacon set himself to refute. Thus he was led to an utter rejection of the wisdom of the ancients. Many of his opinions, indeed, originated in a reaction against existing errors; and when the errors which he attacked passed away, his views in their turn became errors.

He inverts the ordinary view with regard to history. "These times," he says, meaning the times in which he lived, "are the ancient times, when the world is ancient, and not those which we account ancient by a computation backward from ourselves"; and he concludes therefrom, "that wisdom which we have derived principally from the Greeks is but like the boyhood of knowledge and has the characteristic property of boys: it can talk but it cannot generate; for it is fruitful of controversies but barren of works." The same cause also leads him to take a very pessimistic view of human progress. "Time," he says, "is like a river which has brought down to us things light and puffed up, while those which are weighty and solid have sunk."

Bacon would establish a trustworthy system whereby nature might be interpreted and brought into the service of man. Knowledge was to be sought "for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate."

The only true knowledge for Bacon was a knowledge which was power, but he expressly rejected a narrow utilitarianism. "For though it be true," he says, "that I am principally in pursuit of works and the active department of the sciences, yet I wait for harvest time, and do not attempt to mow the moss or to reap the green corn. For I well know that axioms once rightly discovered will carry whole troops of works along with them, and produce them, not here and there one, but in clusters. And that unseasonable and puerile hurry to snatch by way of earnest at the first works which come within reach, I utterly condemn and reject as an Atalanta's apple that hinders the race."

Before proceeding to enunciate his own system of philosophy Bacon considered it incumbent upon him to review the whole field of knowledge. This he did in the *Advancement of Learning*. It was a great undertaking, but his was an age of intellectual heroism, when men were imbued with a desire for omniscience, and even boasted that they took all knowledge for their province. Bacon considered the time to be favourable for such a venture, and amongst the advantages of his day he mentions the art of printing, the discovery of the New World, and the peaceful state of the kingdom.

Bacon fully recognised the magnitude of the task and the impossibility of accomplishing it successfully. Nevertheless his classification of the sciences is thought by some to be a more lasting contribution to philosophy than the new method which he expected would accomplish so much.

The philosophy of the schoolmen which he condemned Bacon characterised as "Anticipation of the Mind": the new he termed "Interpretation of Nature." To signify his complete break with the past, and his opposition to the traditional philosophy which drew its inspiration from the Organon of Aristotle, he entitled his great work the *Novum Organum*.

The *Novum Organum*, i.e. the new instrument or method of thought, is, he admits, a kind of logic, but a logic wholly different from and opposed to the logic of the schools. "For the end which this science of mine proposes is," he maintains, "the invention not of arguments but of arts. And as the intention is different, so accordingly is the effect; the effect of the one being to overcome an opponent in argument, of the other to command nature in action." He consequently rejects demonstration by means of the syllogism and employs induction throughout, but his theory of induction he likewise distinguishes from that of the formal logicians.

Bacon's system is a form of induction which analyses experience and takes it to pieces, and by a due process of exclusion and rejection leads to the inevitable conclusion. The first stage in the process is the collection of instances

to be investigated, the second is the sorting of instances, and the third the rejection or exclusion of instances which do not exhibit the essential qualities of the phenomena under examination. Then there remains "Form, affirmative, solid, true and well limited." The use of experiment with a definite purpose was not recommended by Bacon.

The baselessness of many of the hypotheses which he found in the science of his time induced Bacon to disregard the important service which general thinking must perform in the process of scientific explanation. His method leaves but little room for hypothesis or generalisation, and sometimes he seems to have thought that, were the collection of instances extensive enough, the sifting by the methods of exclusion might go on mechanically and extract in a purely mechanical fashion the truth contained in the particulars.

In this error lies the real weakness of the whole method as described in the *Novum Organum*. It ignores the complexity of natural processes, and it introduces a needless distinction into the processes of mind, a distinction between the receptive and passive on the one hand and the active and formative on the other. At the same time we can never overlook the contribution made to the theory of induction by Bacon: its significance lies in the necessity for the application of the method of elimination or exclusion and in the definiteness by which appeal to fact is insisted on.

In his romance entitled the *New Atlantis* Bacon pictures for us what he conceives the outcome of the application of his new method might be. His Utopia is the heaven of the scientific mind. The island of Bensalem has an ideal polity; it is not, however, over its political and social institutions that Bacon lingers, but over Salomon's House, "which house or college is the very eye of the kingdom." This foundation is the embodiment of the new scientific spirit which Bacon hoped might bring happiness to humanity. Salomon's House is a great laboratory equipped with all manner of scientific instruments, and connected with it is an organised army of scientific investigators. All the processes of nature are there artifi-

cially reproduced, and the results made to serve mankind. But Bacon's vision of a world regenerated by science has vanished: not in that way is human happiness to be found. Indeed John Stuart Mill has questioned whether all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being.

§ 3. *Bacon's Philosophy of Life.*—In religion Bacon desired unity and advocated tolerance: "the ancient and true bonds of unity are one faith, one baptism, and not one ceremony, one policy."

Ethics he makes the handmaid to Theology. He preaches no gospel of duty for duty's sake and condemns all idealistic systems, commending Machiavelli the more for openly and unfeignedly declaring and describing what men do and not what they ought to do. In opposition to Aristotle he prefers the active to the contemplative life. He is a pragmatist also in that he judges the rightness of an action by its effects: the effects, however, are to be considered with reference to the good not of the individual, but of the state.

Bacon's political doctrines are influenced by the Greek conception of the state, especially by the views of Aristotle whom he professes to despise. He shares with Aristotle the view that states are naturally hostile to one another, that war is a necessity; and his statement on foreign trade is as heterodox economically as Aristotle's dictum on interest. In Bacon we miss the modern democratic note. He had no faith in democracy and like the Greeks despised the workers.

§ 4. *The Essays.*—Bacon will be remembered by his literary works when his philosophical writings are known only by name. He seems indeed to have had some intimation of this immortality when in the dedication to the *Essays* he predicted that they might last "as long as books last."

Bacon has himself given his reason for describing these works as *Essays*: "The want of leisure hath made me choose to write certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called *Essays*." They

consist merely of "axiomata media," rough generalisations from experience, observations collected with a view to an inductive and experimental philosophy of human conduct, and so deserve the name of *Essays* or *Attempts*. The word, as he says, was new, but the thing old. (Montaigne's *Essays* are in fact the only important, if not the only, writings previous to the time of Bacon which bear the name, but they have little in common with Bacon's writings, for Montaigne's *Essays* are spontaneous and full of vivid personal feeling, Bacon's are profound and compressed, and are delivered in a manner which is not merely authoritative, but even oracular.)

The *Essays* were published in three separate editions, of which the first, containing ten, appeared in 1597, the second, containing thirty-eight, in 1612, and the third, containing fifty-eight, in 1625, the year before Bacon's death. Of the essays included in this selection none belongs to the first edition; the essays *Of Truth*, *Of Revenge*, *Of Adversity*, *Of Simulation and Dissimulation*, *Of Envy*, *Of Boldness*, *Of Seditious and Troubles*, *Of Travel* belong to the third, and the remainder to the second.

Paradox passes for philosophy with a certain class of present-day writers: antithesis was the form in which Bacon cast his thoughts. This trick of style, it has been suggested, was the result of a mental habit fostered by his practice in the courts. However this may be, Bacon himself discloses his method, and in the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* he sets forth in tabular form the antitheta on various subjects. For the sake of illustration those on "Revenge" are given below.

REVENGE.

FOR.

Revenge is a kind of wild justice.

He who requites violence with violence, sins against the law but not against the man.

The fear of private revenge is a useful thing; for laws too often sleep.

AGAINST.

He that did the first wrong made a beginning of mischief, he that returneth it maketh no end.

The more natural revenge is, the more need to restrain it.

He that is ready to return an injury was behindhand more in time perhaps than in will.

The *Essays* remain by reason of this method a mere compendium of practical philosophy: there is in them no immanent dialectic transcending and reconciling in a higher synthesis the opposition of thesis and antithesis.

§ 5. *Bacon's Style*.—"These modern languages," says Bacon, "will at one time or another play the bank-rowte with books." So to preserve his own writings from oblivion he translated into Latin as many as he could of his English works, e.g. *Essays*, *Advancement of Learning*, *History of Henry VII.*, alleging as his reason for this with regard to the *Essays* "that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last."¹ Yet the language he affected to despise has had its triumph: Bacon's Latin writings are now read mainly through the medium of English translations, while his *Essays* have become a classic of the language, and they owe this position not to their subject-matter, but to their inimitable style and fine literary flavour.

Terseness of expression and epigrammatic brevity are the most obvious characteristics of Bacon's style as seen in the *Essays*. Bacon possessed to a greater degree than any other author of ancient or modern times, except perhaps Tacitus or Aristotle, the power of compressing into a few words a great body of thought. As an instance may be taken the famous passage in the *Essay of Adversity*, "Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New; which carrieth the greater benediction and the clearer revelation of God's favour." (This terseness of style is often attained by the avoidance of superfluous epithets and by the omission of the ordinary joints and sinews of speech, such as conjunctions and other logical connections. Yet it is seldom carried to the length of obscurity, and Bacon's brevity is matched only by his lucidity and clearness.)

(Another striking characteristic of Bacon's style is his constant use of figurative language.) In his day, when conceits and far-fetched metaphors and comparisons were the delight of writers both of prose and of verse, Bacon

¹ See Dedication of *Essays*.

distinguished himself by the ingenuity and even the audacity of his metaphors, the aptness of his illustrations, the exuberance of his fancy. For an example we need go no further than the first essay, where we find the striking passage: "Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth."

Equally striking is the extensive use of quotations; these Bacon sows broadcast through the Essays. With regard to them it is worth pointing out that Bacon did not trouble about their accuracy. They are frequently inexact, but generally more forcible, and always more serviceable to him than the exact words would have been, for he does not hesitate to alter the original to bring it into harmony with its new context.

The language of the Essays is largely permeated with Latinisms, so that some knowledge of Latin is highly serviceable to the reader. Nevertheless, though Latin words and idioms are frequent, the English has not suffered, but retains its natural power as a vehicle of expression. The sentences, says Dean Church, are brief and rapid and "come down like the strokes of a hammer."

(That Bacon's style was the result of labour and conscious art is proved by the fact that he considered certain passages in his writings to be like finished stones, capable of being fitted into different buildings. The fact is that Bacon was a consummate artist, able to use all material effectively, and that he invariably suited his style to his subject. Hence it is difficult to find any constant quality in his style. Perhaps the dignified self-esteem which pervades all the Essays may be taken as the chief characteristic of his work.)

BACON'S ESSAYS.

Dedication.

*To the Right Honourable my very good Lord the DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM his Grace, Lord High Admiral of England.*

EXCELLENT LORD,

SOLOMON says, *A good name is as a precious ointment*; and I assure myself such will your Grace's name be with posterity. For your fortune and merit both have been eminent, and you have planted things like to last. I do now publish my Essays, which, of all my works, have been most current, for that, as it seems, they come home to men's business and bosoms. I have enlarged them both in number and weight, so that they are indeed a new work. I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them both in English and in Latin. For I do conceive that the Latin Volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last. My Instauration I dedicated to the King; my History of Henry the Seventh (which I have now also translated into Latin) and my portions of Natural History, to the Prince; and these I dedicate to your Grace, being of the best fruits that, by the good increase which God gives to my pen and labours, I could yield. God lead your Grace by the hand.

Your Grace's most obliged and faithful servant,
FR. ST. ALBAN.

I.

OF TRUTH.

What is Truth? said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And, though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits which are of the same veins; though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth—nor, again, that, when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts—that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not show the masques and mummeries, and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that sheweth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the fathers, in great severity, called poesy *vinum dæmonum*, because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in and settleth in it, that doth the hurt such as we spake of before. But howsoever these

things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth (which is the love-making, or wooing of it), the knowledge of truth (which is the presence of it), and the belief of truth (which is the enjoying of it) is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and His Sabbath work, ever since, is the illumination of His spirit. First He breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then He breathed light into the face of man: and still He breatheth and inspireth light into the face of His chosen. The poet, that beautified the sect that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well, *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tost upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see the battle, and the adventures thereof below; but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth* (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene), *and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below; so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.*

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent, which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious; and therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace and such an odious charge—*saith he If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is*

1 as much as to say that he is brave towards God, and a
coward towards man; for a lie faces God, and shrinks
from man.

80 Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith
cannot possibly be so highly expressed as in that it
shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon
the generations of men: it being foretold, that when
Christ cometh, *He shall not find faith upon the earth.*

II.

V OF DEATH.

MEN fear death as children fear to go in the dark;
and as that natural fear in children is increased with
tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of
death, as *the wages of sin* and passage to another world,
5 is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute
due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditation-
there is sometimes a mixture of vanity and of supers-
tition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of
mortification, that a man should think with himself
10 what the pain is, if he have but his finger's end pressed
or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death
are when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved;
when many times death passeth with less pain than the
torture of a limb, for the most vital parts are not the
15 quickest of sense: and by him that spake only as a
philosopher and natural man, it was well said, *Pompa
mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa.* Groans, and
convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping,
and blacks, and obsequies, and the like, show death
20 terrible.

It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in
the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the
fear of death: and therefore Death is no such terrible
enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him
25 that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs

over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; grief 2
flieth to it; fear preoccupateth it; nay, we read, after
Otho the Emperor had slain himself, pity (which is the
tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere
compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of 30
followers; nay, Seneca adds niceness and satiety: *Cogi-
ta quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis,
aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.* A man would
die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only
upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and 35
over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alter-
ation in good spirits the approaches of death make; for
they appear to be the same men up to the last instant.
Augustus Caesar died in a compliment. *Livia conjugii
nostri memor, vive et vale.* Tiberius in dissimulation, as 40
Tacitus saith of him, *jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non
dissimulatio, descrebant.* Vespasian in a jest, sitting
upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio.* Galba with a sentence,
Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani, holding forth his neck.
Septimius Severus in dispatch, *Adeste, si quid mihi restat* 45
agendum. And the like.

Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon
death, and by their great preparations made it appear
more fearful. Better saith he, *Qui finem vite extremum
inter munera ponat Nature.* It is as natural to die as 50
to be born: and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as
painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit,
is like one that is wounded in hot blood: who, for the
time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed
and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the 55
dolours of death. But, above all, believe it, the sweetest
canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*, when a man hath obtained
worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also,
that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth
envy.

—*Extinctus amabitur idem.*

III.

OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

RELIGION being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies than in any constant belief. For you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, 10 that He is a jealous God; and therefore His worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the Unity of the Church; what are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; and what the Means.

15 The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well-pleasing of God which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the Church, the other towards those that are within. For the former; it is certain, that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest 20 scandals, yea, more than corruption of manners. For as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep men out of the Church, and drive men out of the Church, as breach of 25 unity. And therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass that one saith, *Ecce in deserto*, another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus*,—that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a Church—that voice had need continually to 30 sound in men's ears, *Nolite exire*. The Doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, *If a heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly it is little 35 better when atheists and profane persons do hear of so

many discordant and contrary opinions in religion; it 3 doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them to sit down in the chair of the scorers. It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity; there is a Master of 40 scolding, that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library, sets down this title of a book, *The Morris Dance of Heretics*. For, indeed, every sect of them have a diverse posture, or cringe by themselves; which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics, 45 who are apt to condemn holy things.

As for the Fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings. It establisheth faith; it kindleth charity; the outward peace of the Church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it 50 turneth the labours of writing and reading controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the Bonds of Unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two— 55 extremes; for to certain zelants all speech of pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Jehu? What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me*, Peace is not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and 60 taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour Himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly 65 and plainly expounded: *He that is not with us is against us*; and again, *He that is not against us is with us*; that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or 70 good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's 75

3 Church by two kinds of controversies. The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For, as it is noted by
 80 one of the fathers, *Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the Church's vesture was of divers colours*; whereupon he saith, *In veste variis sit, scissura non sit*; they be two things, Unity and Uniformity. The other is, when
 85 the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself that those which so differ mean one
 90 thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the
 95 same thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum novitates et oppositiones falsi nominis scientie*. Men create oppositions which
 100 are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false Peaces, or Unities, the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance (for all
 105 colours will agree in the dark); the other when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood in such things are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image: they may cleave but they will not
 110 incorporate.

Concerning the Means of procuring Unity, men must beware, that in the procuring or muniting of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords
 115 amongst Christians, the spiritual and the temporal, and

both have their due office and place in the maintenance 3 of religion. But we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it—that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences (except it be in cases of overt 120 scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state), much less to nourish seditions, to authorise conspiracies and rebellions, to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God. For 125 this is but to dash the first table against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:— 130

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France, or the powder treason of England? He would have been seven times more Epicure and atheist than he was. For as the temporal sword is to be 135 drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into hands of the common people. Let that be left to the Anabaptists and other furies. It was a great blasphemy when the devil said, *I will ascend and be like the Highest*; but it 140 is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring Him in saying, *I will descend and be like the prince of darkness*. And what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of 145 states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and to set out of the bark of a Christian Church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins. Therefore it is most necessary that the 150 Church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learning—both Christian and moral—as by their Mercury rod, do damn and send to hell for ever those facts and opinions tending to the support of the

3 same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely
in councils concerning religion, that counsel of the
Apostle would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei*. And it was a notable observation of a wise
father and no less ingeniously confessed, that those which
160 held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly
interested therein themselves for their own ends.

IV.

OF REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice, which the more
man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out.
For as for the first wrong, it does but offend the law;
but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of
5 office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even
with his enemy, but in passing it over, he is superior;
for it is a prince's part to pardon: and Solomon, I am
sure, saith, *It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence*.
That which is past is gone and irrevocable, and wise
10 men have enough to do with things present and to
come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that
labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong
for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself
profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like; therefore why
15 should I be angry with a man for loving himself better
than me? And if any man should do wrong, merely out
of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar,
which prick and scratch, because they can do no other.

The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs
20 which there is no law to remedy: but then, let a man
take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to
punish; else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is
two for one.

Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party
25 should know whence it cometh. This is the more
generous. For the delight seemeth to be not so much

in doing the hurt, as in making the party repent. But 4
base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in
the dark.

Cosmus, Duke of Florence, had a desperate saying 30
against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those
wrongs were unpardonable. *You shall read* (saith he)
that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you
never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.
But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: *Shall we* 35
(saith he) take good at God's hands, and not be content to
take evil also? And so of friends in a proportion. This
is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own
wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well.
Public revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that 40
for the death of Caesar; for the death of Pertinax; for
the death of Henry the Third of France; and many
more. But in private revenges it is not so. Nay
rather, vindicative persons live the life of witches, who,
as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate. 45

V.

OF ADVERSITY.

It was an high speech of Seneca (after the manner of
the Stoics), that *the good things which belong to Pros-*
perity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to
Adversity are to be admired. Bona rerum secundarum
optabilia, adversarum mirabilia. Certainly, if miracles 5
be the command over nature, they appear most in
Adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the
other (much too high for a heathen), *It is true greatness*
to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a
God. Vere magnum, habere fragilitatem hominis, securi-
tatem Dei. This would have done better in poesy, where
transcendencies are more allowed; and the poets, indeed,
10 is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets,

5 which seemeth not to be without mystery, nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian: that *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus* (by whom human nature is represented), *sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher*; lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh through the waves of the world.

But to speak in a mean. The virtue of Prosperity is temperance; the virtue of Adversity is fortitude; which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New: which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and Adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground. Judge, therefore, of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed; for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

VI.

OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy, or wisdom. For it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the greatest dissemblers.

5 Tacitus saith, *Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband and dissimulation of her son*; attributing arts

of policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius. 6 And again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, *We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius.* These properties of arts or policy, and dissimulation and closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, 15 and what to be shewed at half-lights, and to whom and when (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of dissimulation is a hindrance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally 20 to be close, and a dissembler. For where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness 25 of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity. But then they were like horses well managed; for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn: and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass 30 that the former opinion, spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self: the first, Closeness, Reservation, and Secrecy, 35 —when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is; the second, Dissimulation, in the negative,—when a man lets fall signs and arguments that he is not that he is; and the third, Simulation, in the affirmative,—when a man 40 industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, Secrecy; it is indeed the virtue of a confessor. And assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions; for who will open himself to a blab or 45 a babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth

6 discovery, as the more close air sucketh in the more open. And, as in confession the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so, secret
 50 men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind, while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to Secrecy. Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely as well in mind as in body; and it addeth no small
 55 reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers, and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, that *an habit of secrecy is*
 60 *both politic and moral.* And in this part it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak. For the discovery of a man's self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakness and betraying; by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's
 65 words.

For the second, which is Dissimulation, it followeth many times upon Secrecy, by a necessity. So that he that will be secret, must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an
 70 indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will
 75 gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation; which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.
 80 But for the third degree, which is Simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic; except it be in great and rare matters. And, therefore, a general custom of Simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice rising either of a natural falseness,
 85 or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults, which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh

him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand 6 should be out of ure.

The great advantages of Simulation and Dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep opposition, and to 90 surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarm to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall. The third is, the 95 better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves adverse, but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *tell a lie and find* 100 *a troth*: as if there were no way of discovery but by Simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even. The first, that Simulation and Dissimulation commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness, which, in any business, doth spoil the feathers of round flying 105 up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third, and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal in- 110 struments for action; which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy. 115

VII.

✓ OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and fears. They cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter; they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of 5

7 death. The perpetuity by generation is common to
beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper
to men. And surely a man shall see the noblest works
and foundations have proceeded from childless men,
10 which have sought to express the images of their minds,
where those of their bodies have failed. So the care of
posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They
that are the first raisers of their houses are most in-
dulgent towards their children, beholding them as the
15 continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work;
and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their
several children is many times unequal, and sometimes
unworthy, especially in the mother; as Solomon saith,
20 *A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son
shames the mother.* A man shall see, where there is a
house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected,
and the youngest made wantons; but in the midst some
that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, never
25 theless, prove the best.

The illiberality of parents, in allowance towards their
children, is a harmful error, makes them base, acquaints
them with shifts, makes them sort with mean company,
and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty.
30 And therefore the proof is best when men keep their
authority towards their children, but not their purse.
Men have a foolish manner (both parents, and school-
masters, and servants), in creating and breeding an
emulation between brothers during childhood; which
35 many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and
disturbeth families.

The Italians make little difference between children
and nephews, or near kinsfolk; but, so they be of the
lump, they care not, though they pass not through their
40 own body. And, to say truth, in nature it is much a
like matter: insomuch that we see a nephew sometimes
resembleth an uncle, or a kinsman, more than his own
parent, as the blood happens.

Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses
45 they mean their children should take; for then they

are most flexible. And let them not too much apply 7
themselves to the disposition of their children, as think-
ing they will take best to that which they have
most mind to. It is true that, if the affection or apt-
ness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good 50
not to cross it; but generally the precept is good,
Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo.
Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom
never or where the elder are disinherited.

VIII.

OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages
to fortune; for they are impediments to great enter-
prises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the
best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have
proceeded from the unmarried or childless men; which, 5
both in affection and means, have married and endowed
the public. Yet it were great reason that those that
have children should have greatest care of future times;
unto which they know they must transmit their
dearest pledges. 10

Some there are, who, though they lead a single life,
yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account
future times impertinencies. Nay, there are some
other that account wife and children but as bills of
charges. Nay, more, there are some foolish rich, cove- 15
tous men that take a pride in having no children,
because they may be thought so much the richer. For,
perhaps, they have heard some talk, *Such a one is a great
rich man*, and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a
great charge of children*, as if it were an abatement to his 20
riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is
liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous
minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they

8 will go near to think their girdles and garters to be
25 bonds and shackles.

Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects. For they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen; for ~~charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool.~~ It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly, in their hortatives, put men in
35 mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage among the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base.

Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they be many times
40 more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted (good to make severe inquisitors), because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving
45 husbands, as was said of Ulysses, *Vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati*. Chaste women are often proud and forward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds, both of chastity and obedience, in the wife, if she thinks her husband wise; which she
50 will never do if she find him jealous.

Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses; so as a man may have a quarrel to marry, when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wise men that made answer to the
55 question when a man should marry—*A young man not yet, an elder man not at all*. It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husbands' kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience.
60 But this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent; for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

IX.

OF ENVY.

THERE be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but Love and Envy. They both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions, and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the
5 presence of the objects: which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see, likewise, the Scripture calleth envy *an evil eye*; and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars *evil aspects*: so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the
10 act of envy, an ejaculation or irradiation of the eye. Nay, some have been so curious as to note that the times when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph. For that sets an edge upon envy; and,
15 besides, at such time, the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place) we will handle *what persons* 20
are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others. For men's minds will either feed upon
25 their own good, or upon others' evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand, by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly 30
envious. For to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado may concern his own estate. Therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others. Neither can he that mindeth but his own 35

9 business find much matter for envy. For envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards
40 new men when they rise. For the distance is altered: and it is like a deceit of the eye that, when others come on, they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons, and eunuchs, and old men, and bastards, are envious. For he that cannot possibly
45 mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's: except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said that an eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters;
50 affecting the honour of a miracle; as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamerlane, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes. For they are as men fallen out with
55 the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain-glory, are ever envious. For they cannot want work; it being impossible but many, in some one
60 of those things, should surpass them. Which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters, and artificers in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolk and fellows in office, and those
65 that are bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth
70 from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because, when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was nobody to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy.
75 First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced,

are less envied. For their fortune seemeth but due unto
9 them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy: and therefore kings are
80 not envied but by kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas, contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most
85 envied when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre: for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising. For it seemeth but right done to their birth. Besides,
there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and
90 envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank, or steep rising ground, than upon a flat. And, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and *per saltum*.
95

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy. For men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them
sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy. Wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober sort of politic
100 persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a *quanta palimur*. Not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy. But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon
men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For
105 nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business. And nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places. For, by that means, there be so
110 many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud
manner; being never well but while they are showing
how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by
115

9 triumphing over all opposition or competition. Whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose, to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding, so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain-glory), doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part : as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft ; and that is to remove the lot (as they call it), and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves ; sometimes upon ministers and servants, sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like. And, for that turn, there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy. There is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none. For public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great. And therefore it is a bridle also to great ones to keep within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word *invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of *discontentment* ; of which we shall speak in handling Sedition. It is a disease in a State like to infection. For, as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it ; so, when envy is gotten once into a State, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions. For that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more ; as it is likewise usual in infections, which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to bear chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon Kings and Estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small, or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the State itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections it is the most importune and continual. For of other affections there is occasion given but now and then ; and therefore it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit*. For it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved ; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the Devil, who is called *The envious man that soweth tares among the wheat by night* ; as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilty, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X.

OF LOVE.

THE stage is more beholding to Love than the life of man. For, as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies ; but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a Siren, sometimes like a Fury. You may observe that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love : which shows that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except, nevertheless, 10,

10 Marcus Antonius, the half-partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and law-giver; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate, but the latter was an austere and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely) that love can find entrance, not only in an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept.

It is a poor saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus*: as if Man, made for the contemplation of heaven, and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself a subject, though not of the month (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things, by this: that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase. For, whereas it hath been well said, that the arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self: certainly the lover is more. For there was never a proud man thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved. And therefore it was well said, that *it is impossible to love and be wise*. Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved; but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciproque. For it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded either with the reciproque, or with an inward or secret contempt. By how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them: that he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas; for whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection quitteth both riches and wisdom.

45 This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are great prosperity and great adversity (though this latter hath been less observed); both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore show it to be the child of folly. They do best who, 50 if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter,

and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions 10 of life. For if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is but as they are given 55 to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures.

There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and 60 charitable, as it is seen sometime in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI.

OF GREAT PLACE.

MEN in Great Place are thrice servants; servants of the Sovereign or State, servants of fame, and servants of business. So as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty: or to 5 seek power over others and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious; and by pains men come to greater pains: and it is sometimes base; and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall or at least 10 an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere*. Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason, but are impatient of privateness, even in age and sickness, which require the shadow; like old towns- 15 men, that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy. For if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it; but if they think with themselves 20

11 what other men think of them, and that other men
would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it
were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary
within. For they are the first that find their own griefs,
25 though they be the last that find their own faults.
Certainly, men in great fortunes are strangers to
themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business,
they have no time to tend their health, either of body or
mind. *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus,*
30 *ignotus moritur sibi.*

In place there is license to do good and evil, whereof
the latter is a curse; for in evil, the best condition is
not to will, the second not to can. But power to do
good is the true and lawful end of aspiring. For good
35 thoughts, though God accept them, yet towards men are
little better than good dreams, except they be put in act;
and that cannot be without power and place, as the
vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works
is the end of man's motion, and conscience of the same
40 is the accomplishment of man's rest. For if a man can
be a partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be
partaker of God's rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret
opera, quæ fecerunt manus sue, vidit quod omnia essent
bona nimis;* and then the Sabbath.

45 In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best
examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts. And
after a time set before thee thine own example, and
examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at
first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have
50 carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off
thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself
what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery, or
scandal of former times and persons: but yet set it down
to thyself, as well to create good precedents as to follow
55 them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe
wherein and how they have degenerated: but yet ask
counsel of both times; of the ancient time, what is best;
and of the latter time, what is fittest. Seek to make
thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what
60 they may expect; but be not too positive and peremp-

tory, and express thyself well when thou digressest from 11
thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not
questions of jurisdiction; and rather assume thy right
in silence, and *de facto*, than voice it with claims and
challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior 65
places, and think it more honour to direct in chief than
to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices
touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive
away such as bring thee information, as meddlers, but
accept of them in good part. 70

The vices of authority are chiefly four: delays, cor-
ruption, roughness, and facility. For delays: give easy
access; keep times appointed; go through with that
which is in hand, and interlace not business but of
necessity. For corruption: do not only bind thine own 75
hands or thy servants' hands from taking, but bind the
hands of suitors also from offering. For integrity used
doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a
manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other. And
avoid not only the fault but the suspicion. Who- 80
soever is found variable and changeth manifestly with-
out manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption.
Therefore always when thou changeth thine opinion
or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together
with the reasons that move thee to change: and 85
do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite,
if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem,
is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption.
For roughness; it is a needless cause of discontent:
severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. 90
Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not
taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery.
For bribes come but now and then; but if importunity
or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without.
As Solomon saith, *To respect persons it is not good, for 95
such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.*

It is most true that was anciently spoken, *A place 100
showeth the man.* And it showeth some to the better,
and some to the worse. *Omnium consensu, capax im-
perii, nisi imperasset,* saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Ves-

- 11 pasian he saith, *Solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius*. Though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends.
- 105 For honour is, or should be, the place of virtue: and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm.

All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed.

- Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will surely be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors;
- 120 but let it rather be said, *When he sits in place he is another man*.

XII.

OF BOLDNESS.

- It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration: question was asked of Demosthenes, *What was the chief part of an orator?* he answered, *Action: What next? Action: What next again? Action.*
- 5 He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts, of invention, elocution,
- 10 and the rest; nay, almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore

those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of boldness in civil business; What first? boldness: What second and third? boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts. But, nevertheless, it doth fascinate and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular States; but with senates and princes less: and more ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action, than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise.

25 Surely, as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so there are mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled; Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, *If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill*. So these men, when they have promised great matters, and failed most shamefully, yet, if they have the perfection of boldness, they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado.

Certainly to men of great judgment bold persons are sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous. For, if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture: as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come, but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir. But

12 this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation.

55 This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind, for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences. Therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution. So that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others. For
60 in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

Good Reasoning
Memorandum

XIII.

OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I TAKE Goodness in this sense—the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia; and the word *humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and Goodness of Nature the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity; and without it, man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue,
10 Charity, and admits no excess, but error.

The desire of power, in excess, caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge, in excess, caused man to fall; but in charity there is no excess; neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; inasmuch that, if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures: as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who, nevertheless, are kind to beasts, and gives alms to dogs and birds; inasmuch as Busbechius reporteth, a
20 Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging, in a waggishness, a long-billed fowl.

Errors, indeed, in this virtue of goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente*: So good that he is

good for nothing. And one of the doctors of Italy, 13 Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, that *the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those who are tyrannical and unjust*. Which he spake because, indeed, there was never law, or sect, or opinion, did so much magnify goodness as the 30 Christian religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the scandal, and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies: for that is but facility or softness; which taketh an honest 35 mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly: *He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine upon the just and the unjust*; but He doth not rain 40 wealth nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally. Common benefits are to be communicate with all; but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how, in making the portraiture, thou breakest the pattern. For divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern, the 45 love of our neighbours but the portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me*; but sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me: that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; 50 for otherwise, in feeding the streams, thou driest the fountain.

Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as, on the other side, there is 55 a natural malignity; for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficultness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy, and mere mischief. Such men, in 60 other men's calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon anything that is raw: *Misanthropi*, that

13 make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet never have a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had. Such dispositions are the very errors of human nature; and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politicks of: like to knee-timber, that is
70 good for ships that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm.

The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut
75 off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the affliction of others, it shows that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm. If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is
80 planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash. But, above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an *anathema* from Christ, for the salvation of his brethen,
85 it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ Himself.

XIV.

OF NOBILITY.

WE will speak of Nobility first as a portion of an estate, then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy where there is no nobility at all is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks. For
5 nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies, they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to sedition than where there are stirps of nobles. For men's eyes are
10 upon the business, and not upon the persons; or, if

upon the persons, it is for the business' sake, as fittest, 14 and not for flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of Cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects. The United Provinces of the Low Countries 15 in their government excel. For where there is an equality, the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power, and putteth life and spirit into the
20 people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for sovereignty, nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous 25 nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a State; for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means. 30

As for nobility in particular persons: it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time. 35 For new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts. 40 But it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious envieth him that is. Besides, noble persons cannot go much higher; and he that 45 standeth at a stay when others rise can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find 50

- 14 ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in some sort to command.

XV.

OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

SHEPHERDS of people had need know the calendars of tempests in State; which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality, as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia. And as there are certain hollow
5 blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in States:

*Ille etiam cæcis instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.*

Libels and licentious discourses against the State,
10 when they are frequent and open; and in like sort, false news often running up and down to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of Fame, saith, she was sister to the giants:

15 *Illam terra parens, irâ irritata deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Encladoque sororem
Progeniit.*

As if fames were the relics of seditions past. But they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come.
20 Howsoever, he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine: especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest content-
25 ment, are taken in ill sense and traduced. For that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, *Conflata magna invidia, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt*. Neither doth it follow that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too

much severity should be a remedy of troubles. For the
15 despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also that kind of obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected: *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari,*
35 *quam exequi.* Disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience: especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it, audaciously. 40

Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side, that is, as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side: as was well seen in the time of Henri III. of France; for, first himself 45 entered League for the extirpation of the Protestants, and, presently after, the same League was turned upon himself. For when the authority of princes is made but an accessory to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin 50 to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost. For the motions of the greatest
persons in a government ought to be as the motions of 55 the planets under *primum mobile* (according to the old opinion), which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion. And, therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus ex-
60 presseth it well, *liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*, it is a sign the orbs are out of frame. For reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threat- eneth the dissolving thereof: *Solvam cingula regum.*

So when any of the four pillars of government are 65 mainly shakened, or weakened (which are Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light

15 might be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the materials of seditions, then of the motives of them, and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the Materials of seditions. It is a thing well to be considered: for the surest way to prevent
75 seditions (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds—much poverty, and much discontentment. It is certain,
80 so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war:

*Hinc usura vorax rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.*

85 This same *multis utile bellum* is an assured and infallible sign of a State disposed to seditions and troubles. And if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great. For
90 the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat, and to inflame. And let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust
95 (for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable; who do often spurn at their own good), nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments, where the fear is greater than the feeling. *Dolendi modus, timendi non item.* Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience do
100 withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not so. Neither let any prince, or State, be secure concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have
105 been long, and yet no peril hath ensued. For as it is true that every vapour of fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last. And,

as the Spanish proverb noteth well, *The cord breaketh at 15 the last by the weakest pull.* 110

The Causes and Motives of seditions are innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate, and whatsoever in offending
115 people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the Remedies; there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease, and so be left to counsel rather than rule. 120

The first remedy or prevention is to remove, by all means possible, that material cause of sedition whereof we speak, which is want and poverty in the estate. To which purpose serveth the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of
125 idleness; the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes; and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially
130 if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them. Neither is the population to be reckoned only by number. For a smaller number, that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that
135 live lower and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of nobility, and other degrees of quality, in an over-proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a State to necessity; and so doth likewise an over-grown clergy; for they bring nothing to the stock; and in like
140 manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that, forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost),
145 there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity as nature yieldeth it, the manufacture, and the vecture, or carriage. So that, if

15 these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring
 150 tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *materiam
 superabit opus*, that the work and carriage is worth more
 than the material, and enricheth a State more; as is
 notably seen in the Low Countrymen, who have the best
 mines above ground in the world.

155 Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the
 treasures and monies in a State be not gathered into few
 hands. For otherwise, a State may have a great stock,
 and yet starve; and money is like muck, not good except
 it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at
 160 the least keeping a strait hand upon, the devouring trades
 of usury, engrossing, great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or, at least, the danger
 of them: there is in every state (as we know) two
 portions of subjects, the noblesse and the commonalty.
 165 When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great:
 for common people are of slow motion, if they be not
 excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of
 small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to
 move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the
 170 greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters
 amongst the meaner, that then they may declare them-
 selves. The poets feign that the rest of the gods would
 have bound Jupiter; which he hearing of, by the counsel
 of Pallas sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to
 175 come in to his aid. An emblem, no doubt, to show how
 safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good-will of
 common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments
 to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or
 180 bravery) is a safe way. For he that turneth the humours
 back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth
 malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus mought well become Prome-
 theus, in the case of discontentments; for there is not a
 185 better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs
 and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept hope
 in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and
 artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and

carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best 15
 antidotes against the poison of discontentments. And it 190
 is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding,
 when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot
 by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such
 manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory, but that
 it hath some outlet of hope: which is the less hard to do, 195
 because both particular persons and factions are apt
 enough to flatter themselves, or, at least, to brave that
 which they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no
 likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may 200
 resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but
 an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head
 to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath
 confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom
 they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented 205
 in his own particular; which kind of persons are either
 to be won and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast
 and true manner, or to be fronted with some other of
 the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the
 reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all 210
 factions and combinations that are adverse to the State,
 and setting them at distance, or, at least, distrust among
 themselves, is not one of the worst remedies. For it is
 a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding
 of the State be full of discord and faction, and those that 215
 are against it be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp speeches,
 which have fallen from princes, have given fire to
 seditions. Caesar did himself infinite hurt in that speech,
Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare: for it did utterly 220
 cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he
 would at one time or other give over his dictatorship.
 Galba undid himself by that speech, *legi a se militem, non
 emi*: for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative.
 Probus, likewise, by that speech, *Si vivero, non opus erit* 225
amplius Romano imperio militibus; a speech of great
 despair for the soldiers. And many the like. Surely
 princes had need, in tender matters and ticklish times,

15 to beware what they say, especially in these short
 230 speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to
 be shot out of their secret intentions. For, as for large
 discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without
 some great person, one or rather more, of military
 235 valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in
 their beginnings. For, without that, there useth to be
 more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of
 trouble than were fit. And the State runneth the
 danger of that which Tacitus saith—*Atque is habitus*
 240 *animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci,*
plures vellent, omnes paterentur. But let such military
 persons be assured and well reputed of, rather than
 factious and popular; holding also good correspondence
 with the other great men in the State: or else the remedy
 245 is worse than the disease.

XVI.

OF ATHEISM.

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and
 the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal
 frame is without a mind. And therefore God never
 wrought miracles to convince atheism, because His
 5 ordinary works convince it. It is true that a little
 philosophy inclineth Man's mind to atheism; but depth
 in philosophy bringeth Man's mind about to religion.
 For while the mind of Man looketh upon second causes
 scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no
 farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them
 10 confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to
 Providence and Deity. Nay, even that school which is
 most accused of atheism, doth most demonstrate religion;
 that is, the school of Leucippus, and Democritus, and
 15 Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more credible that
 four mutable elements and one immutable fifth essence,

duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an 16
 army of infinite small portions of seeds, unplaced, should
 have produced this order and beauty without a divine
 marshal. 20

The Scripture saith, *The fool hath said in his heart,*
there is no God; it is not said, *The fool hath thought*
in his heart; so as he rather saith it by rote to himself,
 as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly
 believe it, or be persuaded of it; for none deny there is a 25
 God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no
 God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is
 rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this,
 that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion,
 as if they fainted in it themselves, and would be glad to 30
 be strengthened by the consent of others. Nay, more,
 you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth
 with other sects. And, which is most of all, you shall
 have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant:
 whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such 35
 thing as God, why should they trouble themselves?
 Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his
 credit's sake, when he affirmed there were Blessed
 Natures, but such as enjoy themselves without having
 respect to the government of the world. Wherein they 40
 say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there
 was no God. But certainly he is traduced; for his
 words are noble and divine: *Non deos vulgi negare*
profanum; sed vulgi opiniones diis applicare profanum.
 Plato could have said no more. And although he had 45
 the confidence to deny the administration, he had not
 the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the West
 have names for their particular gods, though they have
 no name for God (as if the heathens should have had
 the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c., but not the word 50
 Deus), which shews that even those barbarous people
 have the notion, though they have not the latitude and
 extent of it. So that against atheists the very savages
 take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The con-
 templative atheist is rare: a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian 55
 perhaps, and some others. And yet they seem to be

16 more than they are, for that all that impugn a received religion, or superstition, are, by the adverse part, branded with the name of atheists. But the great
60 atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling, so as they must needs be cauterized in the end.

✓ The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if there be many (for any one main division addeth zeal to
65 both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism); another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, *Non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos*; a third is,
70 a custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and lastly, learned times, especially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion.

They that deny a God destroy Man's nobility, for
75 certainly Man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature. For take an example
80 of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or *melior natura*: which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So Man, when he resteth and as-
85 sureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith which human nature in itself could not obtain; therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human
✓ nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty.
90 As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations. Never was there such a State for magnanimity as Rome. Of this State hear what Cicero saith: *Quam volumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pænos, nec artibus*
95 *Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domesticæ nativæque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed*

*pietate, hæc religione, atque hæc una sapientiâ, quod de-
orum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernari-
que perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.*

XVII.

OF SUPERSTITION.

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of Him. For the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: *Surely, saith he, I had rather a
5 great deal men should say there was no such a man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born*; as the poets speak of Saturn. And as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater
10 towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation: all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not. But superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the
15 minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb States; for it makes men weary of themselves, as looking no farther: and we see the times inclined to atheism, as the time of Augustus Cæsar were civil times. But superstition hath been the confusion of many States. 20
and bringeth in a new *primum mobile*, that ravisheth all the spheres of government.

The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are
25 fitted to practice, in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign
eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs, to save
the phenomena, though they knew there were no such 30

17 *things*; and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems to save the practice of the Church.

The causes of superstition are pleasing and sensual
35 rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but lead the Church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions which openeth the gate to
40 conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations; and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters.

Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for,
45 as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances.

50 There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go farthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done
55 when the people is the reformer.

XVIII.

OF TRAVEL.

TRAVEL, in the younger sort, is a part of education: in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That
5 young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy

to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaint- 18
ances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the 10
place yieldeth; for else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little.

It is a strange thing that, in sea-voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land-travel, wherein so much is to be 15
observed, for the most part they omit it: as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation. Let diaries, therefore, be brought in use.

The things to be seen and observed are the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassad- 20
ors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes, and so of consistories ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns, and so the havens and harbours; antiquities and ruins; 25
libraries, colleges; disputations and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure near great cities; armories, arsenals, magazines; exchanges, burses, warehouses; exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like; 30
comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go; after all which, the tutor or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for 35
triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not be put in mind of them; yet they are not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must 40
do. First, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth. Then he must have such a servant, or tutor, as knoweth the country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some card, or book, describing the country where he travelleth, 45
which will be a good key to his inquiry. Let him keep also a diary. Let him not stay long in one city or town: more or less, as the place deserveth, but not long Nay,

18 when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his
 50 lodging from one end and part of the town to another;
 which is a great adamant of acquaintance. Let him
 sequester himself from the company of his countrymen,
 and diet in such places where there is good company of
 the nation where he travelleth. Let him, upon his
 55 removes from one place to another, procure recommend-
 ation to some person of quality residing in the place
 whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in
 those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may
 abridge his travel with much profit.

60 As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel,
 that which is most of all profitable is acquaintance with
 the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors. For
 so, in travelling in one country, he shall suck the
 experience of many. Let him also see and visit eminent
 65 persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad,
 that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with
 the fame. For quarrels, they are with care and discre-
 tion to be avoided. They are commonly for mistresses,
 healths, place, and words. And let a man beware how
 70 he keepeth company with cholerick and quarrelsome
 persons, for they will engage him into their own
 quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him
 not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether
 behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters
 75 with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth.
 And let his travel appear rather in his discourse, than
 in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him
 be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell
 stories: and let it appear that he doth not change his
 80 country manners for those of foreign parts, but only
 prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad
 into the customs of his own country.

XIX.

OF EMPIRE.

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things
 to desire and many things to fear; and yet that
 commonly is the case with kings; who, being at the
 highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds
 more languishing; and have many representations of 5
 perils and shadows, which make their minds the less
 clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which
 the Scripture speaketh of, that *the king's heart is inscrut-*
able; for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some
 predominant desire, that should marshal and put in 10
 order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find
 or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many
 times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon
 toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon
 erecting of an Order; sometimes upon the advancing of 15
 a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some
 art, or feat of the hand: as Nero for playing on the
 harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the
 arrow; Commodus for playing at fence; Caracalla for
 driving chariots; and the like. This seemeth incredible 20
 unto those that know not the principle, that *the mind of*
man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small
things, than by standing at a stay in great. We see also
 that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their
 first years, it being not possible for them to go forward 25
 infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest
 in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be super-
 stitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great,
 Dioclesian, and in our memory Charles V.; and others:
 for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, 30
 falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he
 was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire: it is a
 thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and dis-
 temper consist of contraries. But it is one thing to 35

19 mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, *What was Nero's overthrow?* He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the*
 40 *harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

45 This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof; but this is but to try masteries with fortune. And let men beware
 50 how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared. For no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great, but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with the
 ✓ 55 princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories: *Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariae*: for it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

✓ Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, 60 their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours; there can no general rule 65 be given (the occasions are so variable), save one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like) as they become more able to
 70 annoy them than they were. And this is generally the work of standing councils to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry VIII. of England, Francis I., king of France, and Charles V., emperor, there was such a watch kept that none of the
 75 three could win a palm of ground, but the other two

would straightways balance it, either by confederation, 19 or, if need were, by a war, and would not in anywise take up peace at interest. And the like was done by that league (which Guicciardini saith was the security of Italy) made between Ferdinando, king of Naples, 80 Lorenzious Medices, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or provocation. For there is no question but a just fear 85 of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of war.

For their wives; there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxolana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that 90 renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward II. of England, his queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have 95 plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children; the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and generally the entering of the fathers into suspicion of their children hath been 100 ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus II. was thought to be supposititious. The 105 destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house, for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantinus, his other son, did little better; who died, indeed of 110 sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip II. of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust: 115

19 except it were where the sons were in open arms against them, as was Selymus I. against Bajazet, and the three sons of Henry II. king of England.

For their prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Beckett, archbishops of Canterbury, who, with their crosiers, did almost try it with the king's sword: and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings, William Rufus, Henry I., and Henry II. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority, or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles; to keep them at a distance, it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform anything that he desires. I have noted it in my history of King Henry VII. of England, who depressed his nobility; whereupon it came to pass, that his times were full of difficulties and troubles. For the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second nobles; there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high; but that doth little hurt. Besides, they are a counterpoise to the high nobility, that they grow not too potent. And, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants; they are *vena porta*, and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue. For that that he wins in the hundred he loseth in the shire: the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons; there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads;

or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war; it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a Body, and are used to donatives; whereof we see examples in the Janizaries, and pretorian bands of Rome. But trainings of men, and arming them, in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times, and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances: *Memento quod es homo*, and *Memento quod es Deus or vice Dei*. The one brideth their power, and the other their will.

XX.

OF COUNSEL.

THE greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the names of His blessed Son: *The Counsellor*. Solomon hath pronounced that *in counsel is stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation. If they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it; for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and

20 broken by ill counsel. Upon which counsel there are
 20 set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad
 counsel is for ever best discerned; that it was young
 counsel, for the persons, and violent counsel, for the
 matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the
 25 incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel
 with Kings, and the wise and political use of counsel by
 Kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry
 Metis, which signifieth counsel, whereby they intend
 that Sovereignty is married to Counsel; the other in
 30 that which followeth, which was thus: They say, after
 Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him, and
 was with child: but Jupiter suffered her not to stay
 till she brought forth, but ate her up; whereby he
 became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas
 35 formed out of his head. Which monstrous fable
 containeth a secret of empire how kings are to make use
 of their counsel of state: that first, they ought to
 refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or
 impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded,
 40 and shaped in the womb of their counsel, and grow ripe
 and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not
 their counsel to go through with the resolution and
 direction, as if it depended on them, but take the matter
 back into their own hands, and make it appear to the
 45 world that the decrees and final directions (which,
 because they come forth with prudence and power, are
 resembled to Pallas armed) proceeded from themselves,
 and not only from their authority, but (the more to add
 reputation to themselves) from their head and device.
 50 Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel,
 and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have
 been noted in calling and using counsel are three.
 First, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less
 secret; secondly, the weakening of the authority of
 55 princes, as if they were less of themselves; thirdly, the
 danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for
 the good of them that counsel than of him that is
 counselled. For which inconveniences, the doctrine of

Italy, and practice of France, in some kings' times, hath 20
 introduced cabinet councils, a remedy worse than the 60
 disease.

As to secrecy; princes are not bound to communicate
 all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and
 select. Neither is it necessary that he that consulteth
 what he should do should declare what he will do. But 65
 let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs
 comes not from themselves. And as for cabinet councils,
 it may be their motto, *Plenus rimarum sum*. One
 futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do
 more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal. 70
 It is true there be some affairs which require extreme
 secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons
 besides the king. Neither are those counsels unprosper-
 ous. For, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on
 constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction; 75
 but then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to
 grind with a hand-mill. And those inward counsellors
 had need also be wise men, and especially true and
 trusty to the king's ends: as it was with Henry VII. of
 England, who in his greatest business imparted himself 80
 to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority; the fable sheweth the
 remedy. Nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted
 than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel:
 neither was there ever prince bereaved of his depend- 85
 encies by his counsel; except where there hath been
 either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over-
 strict combination in divers: which are things soon
 found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with 90
 an eye to themselves: certainly, *non inveniet fidem super*
terram is meant of the nature of times, and not of all
 particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful
 and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved;
 let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. 95
 Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united but that
 one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another, so that if
 any counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly

20 comes to the king's ear. But the best remedy is, if
100 princes know their counsellors, as well as their coun-
sellors know them :

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too
speculative into their sovereign's person. The true com-
105 position of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in his
master's business, than in his nature, for then he is like
to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singu-
lar use to princes if they take the opinions of their council
both separately and together, for private opinion is more
110 free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In
private, men are more bold in their own humours, and, in
consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours.
Therefore it is good to take both ; and of the inferior sort,
rather in private, to preserve freedom ; of the greater,
115 rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for
princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take
no counsel likewise concerning persons. For all matters
are as dead images ; and the life of the execution of affairs
resteth in the good choice of persons. Neither is it
120 enough to consult concerning persons, *secundum genera*
(as in an idea, or mathematical description), what the kind
and character of the person should be. For the greatest
errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown
in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *Optimi*
125 *consilarii mortui* : Books will speak plain when coun-
sellors blunck. Therefore it is good to be conversant in
them, specially the books of such as themselves have been
actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar
130 meetings, when matters are rather talked on than debated,
and they run too swift to the order or act of council.
It were better that, in causes of weight, the matter
were propounded one day, and not spoken to till the next
day ; *in nocte consilium*. So was it done in the commis-
135 sion of union between England and Scotland, which was
a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for
petitions, for both it gives the suitors more certainty for

their attendance, and it frees the meeting for matters of 20
estate, that they may *hoc agere*. In choice of committees
for ripening business for the council, it is better to 140
choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency
by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I
commend also standing commissions ; as, for trade, for
treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces ; for
where there be divers particular councils, and but one 145
council of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no
more than standing commissions, save that they have
greater authority. Let such as are to inform councils
out of their particular professions (as lawyers, seamen,
mintmen, and the like) be first heard before committees, 150
and then, as occasion serves, before the council. And
let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious
manner ; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform
them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the
walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance ; 155
for at a long table, a few at the upper end, in effect,
sway all the business ; but in the other form there is
more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A
king, when he presides in council, let him beware how
he opens his own inclination too much in that which he 160
propoundeth. For else counsellors will but take the
wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, will sing
him a song of *placebo*.

NOTES.

OF TRUTH

I.

1. **jesting**: "in jest," or "contemptuously." See John xviii. 23. However, Pilate did not speak in jest.
3. **giddiness**: "instability of judgment."
3. **affecting**: "aiming at." Lat. *adfectare*.
5. **sects**: the Greek sophists and sceptics, who said that man's belief was the measure of truth.
6. **discouraging wits**: "discursive minds."
7. **veins**: "habits of mind." Cp. "comic vein."
11. **imposeth**: "restrains," "sets limits to," the imagination.
13. **One of the later schools**: the satirist Lucian, born c. 120 A.D., who wrote a satire called the *Lover of the Lie*.
14. **at a stand**: "at a loss."
14. **what should be in it**: "why it is."
17. **But I cannot tell**: "somehow." 19. **triumphs**: "shows."
20. **stately**: an adverb.
27. **as one would**: "according to fancy."
31. **vinum dæmonum**: "the wine of devils." Jerome (420 A.D.) calls it the "food of devils," and Augustine of Hippo (d. 430 A.D.) the "wine of error." Bacon blends the two.
30. **fathers**: the writers of the early Church, whose teaching was considered authoritative.
35. **howsoever**: "for whatever reason."
42. **creature**: "thing created."
45. **of His spirit**: subjective genitive, "given by his spirit," i.e. the Holy Spirit.
47. **still**: "ever," and so throughout the Essays.
48. **The poet**: Titus Lucretius Carus, 99-45 B.C., wrote a poem called the *De Rerum Natura*, in which he explained the phenomena of the physical world in accordance with the Epicurean philosophy. The Epicureans considered that pleasure was the end of life, therefore their moral teaching was considered inferior.
49. **beautified**: "adorned."
58. **so . . . that**: "provided that."
63. **civil business**: "ordinary intercourse."
68. **embaseth**: "debases."
72. **Montaigne**: a French essayist of the sixteenth century; he quotes this remark from Plutarch's life of Lysander.
81. **peal**: "summons." Fr. *appel*.

NOTES.

82. it being foretold: Luke xviii. 8. Bacon apparently considered that the question in the Gospel expected the answer "No," and was therefore equivalent to a negative statement. Most commentators regard it as open. "Faith," however, in St. Luke means the particular faith involved in waiting for God, though He tarry long; not truthfulness.

II. OF DEATH

8. **friars**: the mendicant monastic orders founded by St. Francis of Assisi and others.
16. **natural man**: Seneca, the philosopher, Nero's tutor (d. 65 A.D.), he had only the light of nature to guide him, not that of revelation. **Pompa mortis**, etc.: "the pageantry of death is more terrible than death itself." Seneca wrote *aditus ad mortem*, "the approach to death."
19. **blacks**: "mourning dress," as still in Scotland.
22. **mates**: "overcomes," the word used in chess.
27. **preoccupateth it**: "forestalls it," i.e. by suicide.
28. **Otho**: Salvius Otho was Emperor of Rome during the early months of the year 69 A.D. When his forces were defeated by the army of Vitellius near Cremona, he committed suicide. Tacitus adds, "Certain of the soldiers killed themselves at his pyre out of love for their emperor and a desire to imitate him."
29. **tenderest**: "weakest." 31. **niceness**: "fastidiousness."
31. **cogita**, etc.: "consider how long you have been doing the same thing; readiness to die may be the result not of courage or misery, but also of satiety."
34. **only upon a weariness**, etc.: "only from weariness at having to do."
39. **Augustus Cæsar**: Emperor of Rome 27 B.C.-14 A.D., he married Livia in 38 B.C. She died 29 A.D., fifteen years after her husband.
39. **Livia conjugii nostri**, etc.: "Livia, while you live forget not our union, farewell."
40. **Tiberius**: Emperor 14-38 A.D.
41. **Tacitus**: Publius or Gaius Cornelius Tacitus, 55-120 A.D. His chief works deal with the history of Rome from 14-69 A.D.
41. **jam Tiberium vires**, etc.: "already bodily strength was failing Tiberius but not duplicity."
42. **Vespasian**: Emperor 69-79 A.D.
43. **ut puto Deus fio**: "I fancy I am becoming a god." Roman emperors were usually deified after death.
43. **Galba**: Emperor in 68 A.D., he was murdered by the Prætorian guard in the interest of Otho. See above, l. 28.
44. **feri, si ex re sit**, etc.: "Strike, if it be for the good of Rome."
45. **Septimius Severus**: Emperor 193-211 A.D. He died at York.
45. **adeste, si quid mihi**, etc.: "be ready if anything remains for me to do."

47. **Stoics**: a sect of philosophers founded by Zeno, 300 B.C. They considered the end of life to be virtue, and tried to attain it by living conformably to nature, and being indifferent to ordinary pleasures and pains. Strictly speaking, they held life and death to be things indifferent; but Bacon is thinking of Seneca and certain other Roman Stoics, whose deaths were somewhat theatrical.

49. **Qui finem vitae**, etc.: "Who counts the final end of life among the gifts of Nature," quoted from the works of the satirist Juvenal, a contemporary of Tacitus.

56. **dolours**: "pains." 57. **Nunc dimittis**: Luke ii. 29.

61. **extinctus amabitur idem**: "when his light is quenched he will again be loved," from Horace.

III. OF UNITY IN RELIGION

2. **contained**: "held together."

8. **doctor**: "teacher."

19. **of all others the greatest**: "the greatest of all," a Grecism.

26. **ecce in deserto**: "behold, he is in the desert," Matthew xiv. 26.

26. **ecce in penetralibus**: "behold, he is in the secret chambers."

30. **nolite exire**: "go not forth."

30. **doctor of the Gentiles**: St. Paul, see Acts xxii. 21, 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

31. **propriety**: "particular nature."

38. **sit down in the chair of the scorers**: Ps. i. 1.

38. **a light thing to be vouched**: "a trivial argument to call in." The word "vouch," Lat. *vocare*, is used of witnesses as well as sureties.

40. **a master of scoffing**: Rabelais (1483-1553 A.D.). His book describing the adventures of Gargantua, Pantagruel, and Panurge, was an audacious satire on civil and ecclesiastical government.

42. **morris dance**: a Moorish dance, it was introduced into England in the time of Edward III., and was popular in the time of Elizabeth.

45. **politics**: "politicians." 52. **treaties**: "treatises."

54. **importeth exceedingly**: "is exceedingly important."

55. **zelants**: "zealots."

56. **Is it peace**: 2 Kings ix. 18.

59. **Laodiceans**: Revelations iii. 14.

61. **witty**: "ingenious."

65. **cross**: "apparently contradictory," the metaphor in "league" and "clause" is that of a federal treaty.

66. **he that is not with us**, etc.: Matthew xii. 30, Mark ix. 40, Luke ix. 50, xi. 23.

70. **merely**: "entirely."

73. **less partially**: "with less party spirit."

75. **small model**: "limited design."

80. **one of the fathers**: St. Augustine of Hippo. He was referring to the "king's daughter," Ps. xlv. 13.

82. **in veste**, etc.: "in the garment let there be divers colours, but no rent."

98. **devita profanas**, etc.: "avoid profane babblings and the oppositions of knowledge falsely so called." 1 Tim. vi. 20.

100. **as**: "that," here and elsewhere.

104. **implicit**: "unquestioning."

108. **Nebuchadnezzar's image**: Dan. ii. 32.

112. **munition**: "defending." Lat. *munire*.

121. **practice**: "plotting."

126. **first table**: sc. of the Commandments; the sense is "to make our duty towards God come into conflict with duty towards our neighbour."

128. **Lucretius**: see above, I. i. 48.

129. **Agamemnon**: the commander of the Greeks against the Trojans. He sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia to Artemis to procure a favourable wind.

131. **Tantum religio**, etc.: "to such ill deeds could religion prompt."

133. **massacre in France**: the massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572, in which 60,000 Huguenots perished.

134. **Epicure**: "Epicurean."

138. **Anabaptists**: the word means "persons who do not recognize infant baptism, and require that adults be rebaptized before taking the communion." Historically they became identified with the Peasant Rising in Germany, and under Jan van Leyden (the Prophet) established a socialistic kingdom called New Zion in Munster (Westphalia). They were put down with great severity, 1535.

140. **I will ascend**, etc.: Isaiah xiv. 12-14. The king of Babylon was taken to represent the devil.

141. **personate**: "give a character to," i.e. bring in.

153. **Mercury rod**: the *caduceus* or rod with which Mercury conducted the spirits of the dead to Hades.

154. **facts**: "deeds." Lat. *facta*.

157. **would**: "should."

157. **Ira hominis**: "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God," James i. 20.

158. **a wise father**: not as yet identified.

IV. OF REVENGE

1. **wild**: "uncultivated" or "uncivilised."

8. **It is the glory**: Proverbs xix. 11.

13. **purchase**: "get."

30. **Cosmus, Duke of Florence**: Cosimo de' Medici was duke of Florence 1537-1574.

35. **Shall we**, etc.: Job ii. 10.

37. in a proportion: *i.e.* taking into consideration that the relation between friends is not that between God and man.

39. green: "unhealed." So Mrs. Quickly told Falstaff, when his head was broken, that prawns were not good for a green wound.

41. death of Caesar: all Caesar's murderers came to violent deaths; Brutus and Cassius, the chief of them, both fell at Philippi. The death of the Emperor Pertinax, 193 A.D., who was killed by the Praetorian guards, was avenged by his successor Septimius Severus. Friar Clement, who murdered Henry III., 1589, was publicly executed. Bacon only means that these public revenges turned out well, for Henry IV. gained more by the death of Henry III. than by the execution of the murderer.

V. OF ADVERSITY

1. Seneca: see above, II. l. 16.

5. miracles: Bacon thinking in Latin passes from *mirabilia* to *miracula*. A miracle is defined to be a case where a superior power commands Nature; a man who is master of himself in adversity commands human nature, *i.e.* natural weakness in his own person.

9. security: "freedom from care."

15. mystery: "secret intention," as in Hamlet "the heart of my mystery."

19. lively: "vividly." Cp. "stately" above, I. l. 20.

22. in a mean: "without exaggeration."

32. distastes: "disgusts."

35. lively: "bright," as *sad* is "dark."

39. incensed: "burnt."

40. discover: "reveal" or "bring to light."

VI. OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

2. asketh: "requires."

5. Tacitus: Publius or Gaius Cornelius Tacitus. See above, II. l. 41.

5. sorted: "was matched."

8. Mucianus: governor of Syria in 69 A.D.; he helped Vespasian, who was in command against the revolted Jews, to secure the empire for himself.

9. Vitellius: Emperor 69 A.D. See II. l. 28.

11. these properties, etc.: "these qualities, diplomacy or policy on the one hand, and dissimulation or closeness on the other, are indeed different habits and faculties, and to be distinguished."

13. several: "separate."

14. that . . . as: "such . . . that," or "the kind of . . . " "which . . ."

19. poorness: "drawback."

20. obtain: "attain."

22. choose or vary in particulars: "choose his course and adapt it to particular circumstances."

23. softly: "slowly."

36. without observation . . . what he is: *i.e.* gives people no chance to observe or grasp what he really is.

41. industriously: "purposely." Lat. *de industria*.

44. confessor: a priest who hears confessions.

47. the close air: *i.e.* the hot air of a room. However cold, air comes into a hot room from outside, because it is more dense than the air inside, not vice versa.

50. in that kind: "in that way," *i.e.* like confessing priests.

56. futile: "chattering."

57. vain: "useless," "silly."

62. tracts: "traits."

63. by how much it is many times: "in as much as it is often."

69. keep an indifferent carriage: "maintain an impartial attitude."

70. both: *i.e.* openness and dissimulation.

73. absurd: "unreasonable." Lat. *absurdus*.

88. ure: from Latin *opus operis*, viâ French *œuvre*—"practice."

95. take a fall: "suffer defeat."

98. fair: "simply," as in Scotch.

105. doth spoil the feathers, etc.: "stops the feathers carrying the arrow direct to the mark."

107. conceits: "conceptions."

112. temperature: "temperament."

112. to have openness, etc.: "to have a reputation and name for openness."

VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

7. memory: "being remembered."

15. kind: "race."

15. work: *i.e.* the family they have founded.

16. creatures: "created things."

17. The difference in affection, etc.: the sense is, apparently, parents make distinctions between their children and frequently both parents do not make the same distinctions.

22. respected: "favoured." Cp. the phrase "respector of persons."

23. made wantons: "spoilt."

23. sort: "consort," below, I. 35, it means "results in."

46. apply themselves: "attend." Fr. *s'appliquer*.

49. affection: "liking," *sc.* for a particular profession.

52. optimum elige, etc.: "choose the best, habit will make it pleasant and easy."

VIII. OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE

7. it were great reason: "it would be reasonable to suppose."

13. impertinencies: "things not to the purpose."

14. bills of charges: "items of expenditure."
 17. because: "in order that."
 22. humorous: "liable to humours," "eccentric."
 24. go near to think: "almost think."
 28. light: "lightly equipped." Cp. "light troops."
 29. churchmen: "ecclesiastics." Cp. *Twelfth Night*, when the Fool, who lives by the church, is asked if he is a churchman.
 32. facile: "easily influenced." This dictum was illustrated in the case of Bacon himself.
 34. hortatives: ancient generals always encouraged their troops before a battle. Lat. *cohortari*. Caesar did not omit to do so even when his troops were surprised.
 45. vetulam suam, etc.: preferred "his old wife to immortality." Calypso offered to make Ulysses immortal if he would stay with her in Ogygia, but he preferred to return to Penelope.
 53. quarrel: "reason," i.e. "cause of quarrel," and so "case."
 54. one of the wise men: Thales, one of the seven sages of Greece.

IX.

OF ENVY

1. affections: "passions," "feelings."
 2. envy: an evil eye: Prov. xxiii. 6, xxviii. 22.
 7. fascination: "overlooking," i.e. "hurting by malicious glances."
 11. ejaculation: "shooting out." From Lat. *ejaculari*. The evil eye is still believed in in Italy and the East.
 12. curious: "minutely careful." Lat. *cura*, "care." Similarly curiosities, l. 19, means "subtleties."
 28. come at even hand, etc.: "be even with another by ruining him."
 33. estate: "affairs;" below it means "government."
 34. play-pleasure: "the pleasure of a spectator at a play."
 38. non est curiosus, etc.: "no man is a busybody without also being ill-natured," from Plautus.
 50. affecting: "aiming at."
 50. Narses: a general of the Emperor Justinian 527-563 A.D. He defeated the Goths and was made exarch of Italy. His rival was the more famous Belisarius.
 51. Agesilaus: King of Sparta 398-360 B.C. He commanded against the Persians in Asia Minor, and also served in Greece and Egypt.
 51. Tamerlane: *Timour len*, i.e. "Timour the lame." He was the greatest of the Mogul conquerors, and founder of the Mogul Empire in India.
 58. they cannot want work: "they have always something to work upon."
 61. Adrian: Hadrian, Emperor of Rome 117-138 A.D.
 63. vein: "inclination."
 68. incurreth . . . into the note: "comes under the notice."

94. per saltum: "by a leap."
 96. travels: "travailes," "labours."
 102. quanta patimur: "how much we have to bear."
 124. disavow fortune: "admit that fortune was wrong," sc. in favouring him.
 130. lot: "spell" or "charm."
 133. derive: "divert," properly of turning the course of a stream.
 141. ostracism: it was customary in Athens every year to take a vote of the people with a view to banishing any man who seemed likely to make himself ruler of the city. If more than 6000 votes were registered against any person, he had to leave the city for ten years.
 144. invidia: "political bad feeling."
 152. plausible actions: "actions intended to win approval."
 169. invidia festos dies non agit: "envy keeps no holiday."
 175. the envious man: Matthew xiii. 25.

X.

OF LOVE

1. beholding: "indebted."
 4. Siren: the Sirens were fabulous creatures, half women, half birds, who inhabited a rocky island, and lured sailors to destruction by their singing.
 11. Marcus Antonius: the lover of Cleopatra. He shared the Roman Empire with Augustus from 42-31 B.C. He was defeated by Augustus at Actium 31 B.C.
 12. Appius Claudius: the most famous of the Ten Commissioners (*decemviri*) appointed in 451 B.C. to draw up the laws of Rome, subsequently known as the Twelve Tables. Falling in love with a girl called Virginia, he illegally claimed her as his slave. Her father Virginus, finding he could not save his daughter otherwise, killed her with his own hand.
 18. Epicurus: see above, l. 48.
 18. satis magnum, etc.: "we are a sufficient theme of contemplation for each other," i.e. "the proper study of mankind is man."
 21. idol: "image," a favourite word with Bacon; it has both senses of the word image here—(1) the image which the eye forms of its object, (2) the image of a false god which is worshipped.
 24. braves: "sets at naught."
 26. hyperbole: "exaggeration in expression."
 29. intelligence: "an understanding."
 32. it was well said: sc. by Plutarch.
 36. reciproque: "returned," "reciprocal," below it is a noun, "return."
 40. the poet's relation, etc.: "the story told by the poet represents them well." The story is that of the Judgment of Paris. Paris, when called upon to judge whether Juno, Pallas (Minerva) or Venus was fairest, decided in favour of Venus, and received as reward Helen, the most beautiful woman in Greece. He went

without (quitted) the gifts offered by Juno and Pallas, which were power and wisdom.

50. **keep quarter**: "keep within limits."

52. **check**: "interfere."

XI. OF GREAT PLACE

1. **Great Place**: "high position."
2. **fame**: "reputation." Lat. *fama*.
3. **as**: "that."
11. **cum non sis qui fueris**, etc.: "when you are no longer the man you were, you have no reason for desiring to live." Cicero.
13. **it were reason**: "it would be reasonable."
15. **shadow**: *i. e.* an indoor life.
16. **still**: "always," as frequently in Shakespeare and later.
29. **illi mors gravis incubat**, etc.: "death is grievous to the man who dies well known to all, but unknown to himself." Seneca.
33. **to can**: "to be able."
33. **vantage**: an adjective qualifying "ground."
33. **Merit and good works is the end**, etc.: "the end" is the subject, "merit and good works" belong to the predicate.
39. **conscience**: "consciousness." Lat. *conscientia*.
41. **God's theatre**: "what God saw," explained by the quotation which follows.
42. **Et conversus**, etc.: "and God turned to behold the works which His hands had made, and saw that they were very good," Gen. i. 31.
46. **globe**: "compendium."
51. **taxing**: "finding fault with."
52. **bravery**: "display," "ostentation."
53. **set it down to thyself**: "make it your aim."
55. **Reduce**: "trace back." Lat. *reduco*.
60. **positive**: "uncompromising."
61. **express thyself well**: "give good reasons."
64. **de facto**: "by action." **voice**: "assert."
68. **execution of thy place**: "the discharge of your office."
72. **facility**: "complaisance."
86. **steal it**: "do it by stealth."
87. **inward**: "intimate."
88. **close**: "secret."
94. **idle respects**: "groundless preferences."
94. **be without**: *sc.* "them."
95. **To respect persons**, etc.: Proverbs xxviii. 21.
97. **A place sheweth the man**: a Greek proverb, ἀρχὴ ἀνδρα δείκνυσιν, ascribed to various wise men.
99. **Omnium consensu**, etc.: "all men would have held him fit to rule, had he not ruled." Tacitus, the historian of the early Roman Empire, 55-118 A.D. Galba, Emperor 69 A.D. Vespasian, Emperor 69-79 A.D.

101. **Solus imperantium**, etc.: "he was the only emperor who changed for the better."

103. **manners and affection**: "character and disposition." For the use of the words in Latin, cp. *mores et affectio*.

110. **side a man's self**: "take sides," balance himself; "be neutral."

118. **Be not too sensible or too remembering**, etc.: "do not be too sensitive about your position or remind others of it too much;" or sensible may mean "conscious."

XII. OF GOODNESS

1. **It is a trivial grammar-school text**: *it* refers to the story which follows; *trivial*, derived from the Latin word *trivium*, a street-corner, means "stale" or "trite"; *text*, a "quotation," cp. text of a sermon.

2. **Demosthenes**: an Athenian, the most famous of Greek orators, 385-322 B.C. As a statesman he chiefly employed his powers in resisting the aggressions of Philip, King of Macedon. This story is told by Cicero. Demosthenes had not naturally either the gifts of action or utterance, but acquired them by rigorous practice.

3. **part**: "quality." Cp. "a man of parts."

14. **wonderful**: used adverbially. The distinction in form between adjective and adverb is not fundamental, and has disappeared altogether in German.

22. **popular states**: states which have a popular form of government, "democracies."

26. **mountebanks**: literally a person who mounts upon a bench, so a "quack."

40. **they will but slight it over**, etc.: "they will merely make light of it and take a new line without more ado."

49. **in bashfulness the spirits**, etc.: Bacon has an elaborate theory of the part played by the vital spirits in the life of man. Speaking generally, they represent the inherent energy which makes a man live and act. Cases of bashfulness, he explains, by supposing that the vital spirits come and go; but when a bold man is put out of countenance, they receive a sudden check, which leaves the man ludicrously helpless.

51. **a stale**: "stalemate." When a player's king is in such a position that, though not actually in danger, he cannot move without going into check, *i. e.* exposing himself to capture, and no other move can be made on the board, the game is considered drawn.

XIII. OF GOODNESS, ETC.

1. **affecting**: see note on I. l. 3; IX. l. 50.

6. **character**: "characteristic."

9. **answers**: "corresponds."

10. **and admits of no excess**: Aristotle considered that virtues were means between two vices, the excess and defect of the same

disposition: e.g. courage was a mean between cowardice (defect) and rashness (excess). Christian theology, to a certain extent, followed Aristotle, but laid down that certain virtues, notably charity (love), did not admit of excess.

10. but: "only."

19. Busbechius: Augier Ghislain de Busbec, 1522-1592. He was ambassador from Ferdinand I. Emperor of Germany to the Sultan, and lived in Constantinople seven years. He wrote a description of the Ottoman Empire. He ascribes the particular "waggishness" to a Venetian goldsmith.

25. doctors: "learned men."

26. Nicholas Machiavel: Niccolò Machiavelli, a Florentine author and statesman. His most famous work is "The Prince," a manual for Italian tyrants in the middle ages, studied in part from Caesar Borgia. The tone of this treatise, which is politic rather than moral, has won a bad reputation for Machiavelli, which he does not by any means deserve. Bacon maligns him here.

32. take knowledge of: "notice."

34. faces or fancies: "fancies as expressed by their faces."

39. He sendeth rain, etc.: Matthew v. 45.

45. divinity: "divine teaching."

46. Sell all that thou hast: Mark x. 21.

54. right reason: "a just appreciation of what is right."

58. crossness: "perverseness." frowardness: "self-will."

59. difficilness: "intractability."

61. in season: "in their element."

62. are ever on the loading part: "always take the line of exaggerating misfortunes."

63. Lazarus: Luke xvi. 20.

64. Misanthropi: "haters of mankind."

67. Timon: of Athens, a noted misanthrope. He is reported to have said in the Athenian Assembly, that he had a fig-tree on which several Athenians had hanged themselves, and that he was about to cut it down with a view to building. He therefore invited any one who wished to do so to come and hang himself at once.

69. politiques: "politicians."

69. knee-timber: "the timber from gnarled or bent trees."

84. anathema from Christ: "cursed by Christ." Rom. ix. 3.

XIV. OF NOBILITY

2. estate: "state."

5. attempters: "moderates."

9. stirps: "families," strictly speaking it should be *stirpes* the plural.

9. for men's eyes, etc.: this gives the reason why democracies can dispense with a nobility.

12. flags: "armorial devices."

15. respects: "consideration for rank."

15. United Provinces: the seven states of the Netherlands

which in 1579 revolted from Spain. Holland was the chief, and has given its name to all.

17. indifferent: "impartial."

21. presseth: "depresses."

23. as: "that."

25. fast: "near," as in the phrase, "fast by."

27. surcharge of expense: "unnecessary expense."

33. are . . . more virtuous: "have higher qualities," or "more genius." Virtue often means "hidden power."

40. arts: "practices."

46. at a stay: "stationary."

47. motions: "emotions," or "impulses."

50. of: "among."

51. a better slide into their business: either *slide* is used absolutely for smoothness—kings will find smoothness coming into their business—or the sliding is done by the kings who get better into their business when able nobles smooth the way, and save them from friction by commanding the respect of the lower classes as mere ministers would not.

XV. OF SEDITIONS + TROUBLE

1. shepherds of people: this is the expression habitually used in Homer for kings.

1. calendars: the almanacs, which foretold the weather, in which shepherds were always supposed to be more interested than even farmers. One of Spenser's poems is entitled the *Shepherd's Calendar*.

7. ille etiam, etc.: "for he (sc. the sun) oftentimes gives warning of the secret approach of mutinous outbreaks, and of the swellings of treachery and hidden war"; the quotation is from Virgil's *Georgics*.

13. Fame: "Rumour." Lat. *fama*; it is used in this sense throughout the essay.

15. illam terra parens, etc.: Her, Earth, her mother, provoked by the wrath of Heaven, brought forth, they say, her latest child, a sister to Cæus and Enceladus." Virgil, *Æneid* iv. Cæus and Enceladus were Titans, who seditiously rose against Jupiter.

23. that: "such a pass."

24. plausible: "praiseworthy."

26. envy: "political bad feeling"; Lat. *invidia*.

26. confata invidia, etc.: "when public hatred is aroused good or bad actions alike are ruinous." Tacitus wrote, *inviso semel principe*: "when an emperor is once hated, good and bad actions alike ruin him," referring to Galba.

34. erant in officio, etc.: "they held to their allegiance, but in the spirit of men who were rather disposed to explain the commands of their rulers than to obey them."

38. assay of: "experiment in."

39. for the direction: "in favour of the government."

39. fearfully and tenderly: "with caution and weakly."

41. **Machiavel**: see above, XIII. l. 26.
 43. **that is as**: "the result is the same as in the case of . . ."
 47. **League**: the League of the Holy Trinity or Holy League formed by the French Catholics, under the leadership of the Guises, for the suppression of the Huguenots. Henry III. joined it, but lost so much freedom by so doing that he felt it necessary to have the Duke of Guise assassinated. The League then turned against him and drove him out of Paris.
 49. **and that there be**: *that* is redundant.
 56. **primum mobile**: the name given to the outside sphere in the pre-Copernican system of astronomy. It revolved daily and carried round with it all the other nine spheres, which contained the fixed stars and planets. These nine spheres had a less rapid motion of their own, in the opposite direction.
 58. **softly**: "slowly."
 61. **liberius quam ut**, etc.: "with a freedom which proved that they had little respect for their rulers."
 62. **out of frame**: "out of order."
 64. **Solvam cingula regum**: "I will loose the girdles of kings." Cp. Isaiah xlv. 1 and Job xii. 18.
 66. **mainly**: "much," now a provincialism.
 68. **part of predictions**: the genitive is appositional, not partitive, "this part which consists of predictions."
 69. **more**: "further."
 75. **if the times do bear it**: "if the times allow of it."
 80. **overthrown estates**: "ruined fortunes."
 81. **Lucan**: M. Annaeus Lucanus (39-65 A.D.), nephew of Seneca and Gallio. He lived in the reign of Nero, who became jealous of his success as a poet and forbade him to publish. Lucan then entered into a conspiracy against Nero, but the plot was betrayed, and he was compelled to commit suicide. Lucan wrote an epic poem called the *Pharsalia*, which described the Civil War between Cæsar and Pompeius 49 and 48 B.C.
 83. **hinc usura vorax**, etc.: "Hence sprung devouring usury and interest that hastens to the day of payment; hence shaken credit, and war become a boon to many."
 99. **dolendi modus, timendi**, etc.: "there is a limit to suffering, but no limit to fear."
 102. **mate**: "defeat," "checkmate."
 103. **be secure**: "feel safe," or "be careless."
 114. **strangers**: "the presence of foreigners." Bacon is probably thinking of foreign favourites, e.g. the Provençals in the reign of Henry III., and Jews and others whose competition injured production.
 124. **well-balancing of trade**: Bacon held that exports should exceed imports, and that so a balance should be received in money. This theory was overthrown by Adam Smith. Modern Political Economy has also discarded the belief that laws regulating expenditure, or artificially controlling prices, are valuable.
 131. **stock**: "capital." Cp. "stocks."

144. **upon**: "at the expense of."
 145. **whatsoever is somewhere gotten**, etc.: this also does not hold, or it would not be possible for the world at large to grow richer.
 150. **materiam superabit opus**: "the work will be more valuable than the material."
 154. **mines above ground**: i. e. their manufactures and carrying trade.
 158. **muck**: "manure."
 161. **engrossing**: "monopolising," "making corners."
 170. **troubling of the waters**: John v. 4.
 174. **Pallas**: "Minerva." **Briareus**: a Titan.
 180. **bravery**: "defiance."
 181. **endangereth**: "incurs the danger."
 182. **imposthumations**: "abscesses."
 183. **The part of Epimetheus**, etc.: Prometheus "forethought" and Epimetheus "afterthought" were two brothers. Prometheus stole fire from heaven and gave it to men, who then learnt the arts, and became more like the gods. To be revenged the gods made a beautiful woman called Pandora (each bestowing a gift upon her), and sent her down to Epimetheus with a shut box. Epimetheus opened it, and it was full of diseases and pains and troubles, which flew out into the world. He shut the lid too late to stop their escape, but managed to keep in Hope which was at the bottom.
 188. **artificial**: "artful" or "skilful."
 197. **brave**: "parade."
 206. **in his own particular**: "on his own particular account."
 220. **Sylla nescivit**, etc.: "Sulla did not know his letters, and could not dictate." Both Sulla and Cæsar when masters of Rome assumed the title of "dictator." Sulla after reorganising the constitution laid down his office, Cæsar did not.
 223. **legi a se militem**: "that he chose his soldiers and did not buy them."
 225. **Probus**: Emperor of Rome 276-282 A.D. He was murdered by his soldiers at Sirmium (Mitrovitz on the Saav).
 225. **si vixero**, etc.: "if I live Rome will not need soldiers."
 233. **events**: "occasions," or "emergencies."
 239. **atque is habitus**, etc.: "the general state of mind was such, that whereas few cared to venture upon so odious a crime, many wished for it, and all accepted it." The reference is to the murder of Galba.
 243. **holding a good correspondence with**, etc.: "not disproportionately great when compared with other members of the state."

XVI. OF A THEISM

1. **Legend**: the *Golden Legend*, a volume containing biographies of the saints, written by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, in the 13th century.

2. **Talmud**: a volume of Rabbinical traditions written as a supplement to the Old Testament.

2. **Alcoran**: the Koran (*al* is the article), the Mahometan bible.

4. **convince**: "refute," Lat. *convincio*.

8. **second causes**: the immediate or efficient causes with which physical science is concerned, as opposed to God, the first cause.

14. **Leucippus and Democritus**: two early Greek philosophers who started the theory that the physical world was formed by the concourse of atoms in a void. Their physical theory was adopted by Epicurus, who used it as a basis on which to found his moral philosophy.

16. **four mutable elements**: sc. earth, air, water, and fire; to these was added a fifth substance or quintessence, ether, of which the heavenly bodies were composed.

21. **the fool hath said**, etc.: Ps. xiv. and liii.

23. **so as . . . persuaded of it**: the first *as* stands for "that," and the first *that* for "what," while the second is causal.

26. **for whom it maketh**: "in whose interest it is."

34. **have of them that**: "find men among them who."

43. **non deos vulgi**, etc.: "it is not profane to deny the existence of the gods in whom common people believe, but it is profane to attribute to the gods what common people believe."

45. **Plato**: lived in the 4th century B.C. He was the greatest of the Greek idealists in philosophy.

54. **contemplative**: "theoretical."

55. **Diagoras**: a poet who came from the island of Melos in the Aegean. His atheism was so famous that Aristophanes calls Socrates "the Melian" when he wishes to imply that he was an atheist.

55. **Bion**: a Scythian who studied philosophy in Athens and became an atheist. He lived about 260 B.C., and must be distinguished from the pastoral poet Bion of Smyrna.

55. **Lucian**: see I. l. 13. His satires often ridiculed the pagan gods.

67. **St. Bernard**: a famous mediæval saint, who preached the Second Crusade and founded the abbey of Clairvaux. He lived 1091-1153 A.D.

67. **Non est jam dicere**, etc.: "we may not say, 'as the people so the priest,' for the people is not so bad as the priest."

79. **generosity**: "nobleness."

80. **maintained**: "supported."

81. **melior natura**: "higher nature."

83. **so in this**: "so it is also in this."

92. **quam volumus**, etc.: "we may think as well of ourselves as we please, Conscript Fathers, but we have not the numbers of the Spaniards, nor the bodily strength of the Gauls, nor the cunning of the Carthaginians, nor the arts of Greece; nay, we are not even the equals of our own Italians and Latins in their affection for the race from which they are sprung, and the land which is their home. But in piety, in reverence, and in the certainty, which is

our only wisdom, that the whole world is ruled and guided by the power of heaven, we are more than a match for any people or nation in the world." But Cicero is by no means so orthodox in his private writings.

XVII. OF SUPERSTITION

4. **Plutarch**: he flourished in 85 A.D., and besides the *Lives* wrote a treatise on superstition, from which this quotation is taken.

12. **natural piety**: a sense of duty to friends and kindred implanted by nature.

14. **dismounts**: "casts down."

19. **Augustus Cæsar**: the foundation of the Empire by Augustus 27 B.C. brought peace and prosperity to Rome, which, as Bacon says, do not promote religion, or as the Bible puts it "When Jeshurun waxed fat he kicked."

21. **primum mobile**: see XV. l. 56.

21. **ravisheth**: "carries away with it."

24. **are fitted to practice**: "used to defend practice, not to guide it."

25. **gravely**: "weightily."

26. **Council of Trent**: the Council of the Church held at Trent in the Tyrol 1545-1563 A.D., at the time of the Reformation. It refused to come to any compromise with Luther and the Protestants, and by its rigid definition of dogma, and anathemas against heretics, made the breach between Catholics and Protestants final.

27. **schoolmen**: mediæval philosophers, who combined the philosophy of Aristotle and the metaphysical and ethical doctrines of Christianity into one system. See XIII. l. 10. Their reasoning was wholly deductive, and therefore became formal and difficult to reconcile with new facts. Bacon himself was the first founder of the so-called inductive reasoning, which, although dogmatic and full of fallacies, was fruitful, as it attempted to take account of fresh knowledge. The chief of the later Schoolmen were—Duns Scotus, Occam, and the great Dominican doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas.

29. **eccentrics and epicycles**: the phenomena (appearances) had by this time made it fairly clear that the earth was not the centre of the planetary system. The sun however had to go round the earth, for in Joshua x. 13 the sun stood still over Gibeon. To save the phenomena it was asserted (1) that the planets had a motion of their own in circles (epicycles), whose centres were on the circumference of the circles, which formed their orbits, as they revolved round the earth, and (2) that these latter circles were eccentrics, i.e. the earth was not accurately the centre of them. Cp. Milton (quoted by West), *Paradise Lost*, viii. 81-84:

"How build, unbuild, contrive,
To save appearances; how gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb."

34. **sensual**: "which appeal to the senses." Bacon throughout the essay is aiming at the Roman Church.

39. **good intentions**: stupidity and eccentricity must not be given a free hand, however sincere they may be, otherwise fanciful beliefs and doctrines may come in.

40. **taking an aim at**: "guessing at," colloquially "shooting."

41. **mixture of imaginations**: the blending of our conceptions as to things human and divine, which result in false arguments from analogy.

52. **would be had**: "should be taken." "Have a care" was the usual expression for "take care."

53. **fareth**: "happens."

XVIII.

OF TRAVEL

6. **allow**: "approve." It is a different word from allow = permit; for the one is derived from Fr. *allower*, Lat. *allaudare*, "to praise," and the other from Fr. *allower*, Lat. *allocare*, "to assign."

10. **exercises or discipline**: "training or learning."

11. **hooded**: "blindfolded"; the metaphor is from "hawking."

15. **diaries**: the reference is to the ship's log.

17. **observation**: things which the traveller express'y came to see.

22. **consistories ecclesiastic**: "ecclesiastical assemblies."

51. **adamant**: usually "hard metal," but here the "loadstone" or "magnet."

53. **diet**: "take his meals," "board."

62. **employed men**: "*attachés*."

69. **healths**: "toasts." A frequent source of quarrel was the refusal on the part of one member of a company to drink the health of some lady or eminent person, who was distasteful to him.

69. **place**: "precedence."

80. **his country manners**: "the customs of his own country."

81. **prick in**: "plant in," or possibly "engraft."

XIX.

OF EMPIRE

Empire: "rule," or "government." Lat. *imperium*.

4. **want matter of desire**: "have no objects of desire."

5. **representations**: "ideas."

8. **the king's heart, etc.**: Proverbs xxv. 3.

14. **toys**: "trifles."

17. **Nero**: Emperor of Rome 54-68. A.D. He insisted on showing off his skill as a harpist and charioteer at the Games, and caused great scandal. It was also said that he played the harp during the great fire in Rome 64 A.D.

18. **Domitian**: Emperor of Rome 81-96 A.D.

19. **Commodus**: son of Marcus Aurelius. From his accession to the position of Roman Emperor, Gibbon dates the decline

of the Roman Empire. He reigned 180-192 A.D., and emulated Nero by taking part as a gladiator in the Games.

19. **play**: the usual word for fencing, so used in the last act of *Hamlet*.

19. **Caracalla**: Emperor of Rome 211-217 A.D. He was the son of Septimius Severus, and was properly called Bassianus, but is known by a nickname derived from the Gallic tunic which he wore. In his crimes, the chief of which was the murder of his brother Geta, and in his love of the circus he resembled Nero and Commodus. His name is associated with the famous baths in Rome, and it was in his reign that all freeborn subjects of the Empire received Roman citizenship.

25. **Alexander the Great**: he is said by Plutarch to have wept because there were no more worlds to conquer.

29. **Dioclesian**: Emperor of Rome 284-305 A.D. His successes against the barbarians served to stay the downfall of the Empire. He spent the last seven years of his life in retirement, and died in 312 A.D.

29. **Charles V.**: born 1500 A.D. died 1558, king of Spain, Naples, Sicily, and the Netherlands, and Emperor of Germany. His life was spent in fighting with the Protestant princes of Germany and Francis I. of France. His most brilliant success was the defeat and capture of Francis near the Carthusian monastery, between Milan and Pavia. He retired in favour of his son in 1556, and spent the last two years of his life in a convent in Spain, hearing masses for his soul as though already dead.

33. **temper of empire**: "the blending of qualities and methods necessary for successful ruling."

37. **Apollonius**: of Tyana in Cappadocia, b. B.C. 4, half Pythagorean philosopher, half magician. This story comes from his life written by Philostratus 182 A.D.

46. **fine deliveries**: "skilful devices for getting out of difficulties."

49. **try masteries with**: "provoke a conflict with."

55. **sunt plerumque**, etc.: "the wills of kings are for the most part violent and self-contradictory." The quotation is from Sallust's *Jugurtha*, 113; not from Tacitus. The Latin is, *Sed plerumque regia voluntates ut vehementes, sic mobiles et sepe ipsae sibi adverse*.

57. **solecism**: "mistake." The word was used primarily of mistakes in grammar, such as were made by the inhabitants of Soli in Asia Minor, who spoke bad Greek.

68. **approaches**: "attracting trade."

75. **palm**: "hand's-breadth."

77. **take up peace at interest**: "take up" = borrow, and the meaning is to make peace, which, like money borrowed at high interest, would cost dear in the end.

79. **Guicciardini**: 1482-1540 A.D., a famous Florentine historian.

80. **Ferdinando of Naples:** 1458-1482 A.D. He was mainly occupied with the internal troubles caused by his cruelties.

81. **Lorenzino Medici:** Lorenzo de' Medici, 1448-1492, tyrant of Florence. He was surnamed the Magnificent, and was famous as a patron of art and letters. After a war with Ferdinand of Naples he made peace in 1480.

81. **Ludovicus Sforza:** 1451-1510 A.D. He was surnamed *il Moro*, "the Moor," because of his complexion. His family, which was of low origin, succeeded the Visconti as tyrants of Milan. The alliance mentioned here was directed primarily against Venice.

89. **Livia:** probably not the same who received the dying compliment of Augustus, although she was in some quarters supposed to have murdered her husband in the interest of her son Tiberius, but her granddaughter Livilla who married Drusus, son of Tiberius. She was seduced by Sejanus, the ambitious prefect of the Praetorian guard, and took off her husband by poison to aid Sejanus in his designs upon the succession.

89. **infamed:** "infamous."

90. **Roxolana:** a Russian girl who was married by Solymán the Magnificent, the greatest of the Ottoman emperors. She compassed the destruction of Mustapha, Solymán's son by another wife, to secure the succession for her own children.

93. **his queen:** Isabella, the "she wolf" of France, *his* by false derivation for the *s* of the possessive case.

96. **that they be advoutrresses:** "when they are adulteresses," the reference being to Livilla and Isabella.

98. **of:** "due to."

105. **Selymus II:** Selim, son of Roxolana. He was defeated by Don John of Austria and the Venetians in a seafight off Lepanto 1571 A.D.

106. **Crispus:** Flavius Julius Crispus, eldest son of Constantine the Great. He distinguished himself in the campaigns against the Franks, but was put to death at the instigation of his step-mother Fausta 326 A.D. On the death of Constantine his three sons by Fausta, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, succeeded him. Constantine, the eldest, who received Gaul, Britain, and Spain, made war upon Constans and fell in battle at Aquileja near Venice. Constans received Italy, Illyricum, and Africa; he defeated his brother, but was murdered by his own troops. Constantius was originally only Emperor of the East, but had secured control of all his father's dominions by 360, when Julian the Apostate was proclaimed Emperor by the soldiers at Paris.

112. **Demetrius:** son of Philip V., King of Macedonia 220-179 B.C., whom Bacon calls Philip II. His father put him to death at the instigation of Perseus, another of his sons, on a charge of treasonable intrigues with the Romans.

117. **Selymus I:** dethroned his father, the Sultan Bajazet II. 1512 A.D.

117. **three sons:** Richard Cœur-de-Lion, Geoffrey, and John.

125. **state:** "class."

126. **hath a dependence of:** "can look for support to."

126. **foreign authority:** *sc.* the Pope, backed upon occasion by the King of France.

128. **collation:** "consent."

133. **my history:** written just after Bacon's retirement from public life, and corrected by James I. The following passage occurs towards the close of it: "He kept a straight hand on the nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people: which made for his absoluteness but not for his safety."

140. **second:** "inferior."

142. **discourse high:** "talk big."

147. **vena porta:** the large vein which conveys blood to the liver.

149. **nourish little:** "get little nourishment."

151. **hundred:** a sub-division of the shire, called in Yorkshire wapentake; it may in the first instance have consisted of a hundred settlements, or have provided a hundred men to the shire army.

158. **men of war:** "soldiers."

160. **Janizaries:** the bodyguard of the Sultan.

161. **pretorian bands,** the bodyguard of the Roman emperors.

165. **good or evil times:** astrologers supposed that history, public and personal, was influenced by the planets.

169. **memento quod,** etc.: "remember that thou art a man, remember that thou art God," or "in place of God."

XX. OF COUNSEL

6. **obliged:** "bound."

11. **Counsellor:** Isaiah ix. 6.

11. **in counsel is stability:** Proverbs xx. 18.

13. **agitation:** the Latin word *agitare* means both "to toss" and "to discuss."

15. **full of inconstancy,** etc.: "full of inconsistency, first done and then undone."

16. **Solomon's son:** Rehoboam, who forsook the counsel of the old men and followed the violent counsel of the young men, whereby he lost control of the northern tribes. 1 Kings xii.

23. **intend:** "mean."

39. **elaborate:** "elaborated."

42. **resolution:** "decision."

55. **less of themselves:** "less able themselves."

58. **doctrine:** "teaching."

60. **cabinet councils:** "private meetings of special advisers," such as were held by Louis XI.

63. **plenus rimarum sum:** "I am full of chinks." Terence.

69. **futile:** "talkative."

72. **which will hardly . . . persons:** "which can scarcely be confided to more than one or two persons with safety."

77. grind with a hand-mill: "be independent of the machinery of government."

81. Morton: Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been in the service of Henry VII. before his accession.

81. Fox: Bishop of Winchester, the patron of Wolsey, and founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

88. divers: "several."

89. holpen: "set right."

91. non inveniet, etc.: "he shall not find faith upon the earth." Cp. I. i. 82.

98. out of faction: "from party motives."

102. principis est virtus, etc.: "it is the excellence of an emperor to know his advisers." Martial.

104. speculative: "inquisitive."

104. person: "character." Lat. *persona*.

104. composition: "quality."

106. nature: "disposition."

112. obnoxious to: "at the mercy of." Lat. *obnoxius*.

118. life of the execution of affairs: "the first condition of efficiency in administration."

120. secundum genera: "according to kinds."

124. optimi consilii mortui: "the best counsellors are dead."

126. blanch: "flinch."

131. to: "upon."

134. in nocte consilium: "counsel comes by night." Cp. "sleep on it."

134. the commission: sat Nov. 1604.

139. hoc agere: lit. "to do this," i.e. "to keep to the matter in hand."

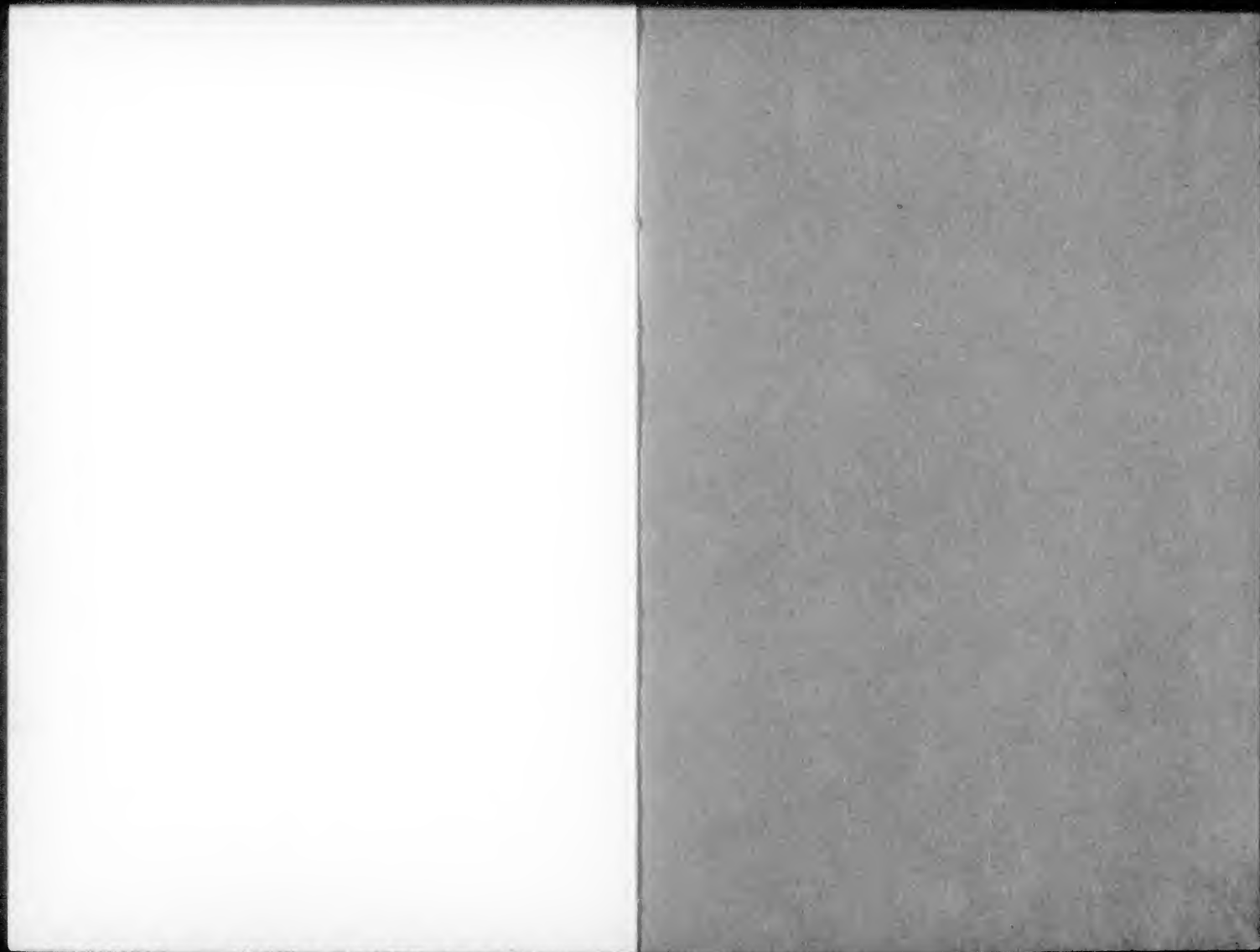
144. provinces: "departments."

152. tribunitious: like the Roman tribunes of the plebeians, who had the reputation of noisy demagogues.

153. clamour councils: "deafen councils with noise."

161. take the wind of him: the simplest explanation is "pick up from him which way the wind blows." Cp. Shakespeare, *King Lear*, "An thou canst not smile as the wind sits, thou'lt catch cold shortly."

163. song of placebo: Ps. cxvi. in the Latin begins with the word *placebo*, "I will please." The psalm was used in the service for the dead, and so familiar. Thus "sing *placebo*" came to mean, "be obsequious." Cp. Chaucer (quoted by West), "Flatterers been the dereles chapelyns that singen ay *placebo*."



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